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The Shape of Things

FRIDAY THE THIRTEENTH LIVED UP TO ITS reputation in Germany. American troops entered Aachen, bringing war to a German city for the first time since the Napoleonic invasion; the Russians took Riga, last Baltic capital remaining in German hands; Tito's forces reached the "walls of Belgrade"; a tank battle raged on the Hungarian plain not far from Budapest; Athens was reported to have been evacuated. The final "total mobilization" of the Reich, already "totally mobilized" two or three times previously, was summoning a fantastic congeries of disabled soldiers, old people, civil servants, and children to front-line service or work on field fortifications; Berchtesgaden itself was reported being feverishly prepared for a long siege. Yet the enemy continues to fight bitterly and well; he has to be pushed forcibly and expensively backward everywhere except in parts of the Balkans. German prisoners from first-class units on the western front showed high morale; said they had been promised more "secret weapons" and an early counter-offensive into France, and seemed to believe it. The Canadians were meeting fierce resistance in their all-important effort to clear the Scheldt estuary and open Antwerp to ocean shipping; Patton's limited attack in the south bogged down; and the Italian front seemed stalemated once more. But a tremendous effort is being made to build up strength for a major offensive in the west, one that will break through the Westwall and sustain the final drive into Germany; and liquidation of the remaining Germans in Latvia will release many Red Army divisions for an offensive against the enemy's center. Even if neither of these blows develops before winter, a Russian winter offensive is a probability to haunt the Germans.

*

LAST WEEK WAS ALSO A BAD ONE FOR THE Japanese, with Admiral Halsey playing the postman who rang not twice but thrice. Halsey's Third Fleet waltzed into Japan's "basic sea area" on the heels of a typhoon. Undoubtedly the Japanese preferred the typhoon. Tokyo's boasts that the Imperial Fleet would do battle when the Americans penetrated these home waters have so far proved hollow; Admiral Mitscher's carrier-based aircraft hit the Ryukyu Islands, southeast of the home island of Kyushu, on Monday, Luzon on Tuesday,

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and the keystone island of Formosa on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. In these five days the American force destroyed 621 Japanese planes; through Thursday it sank, probably sank, or damaged 227 Japanese ships and small craft. The absence of anything larger than small fighting vessels from the casualty list is notable and indicates retirement of the Imperial Fleet into harbors at home. It is difficult to say what will bring it forth, if it would not come forth to meet this dangerous challenge to the vital supply passageway through the narrow seas between the East Indies and the home islands. (The Tokyo claim that the Japanese fleet had gone into action remains unconfirmed as we go to press.) Perhaps the imminent establishment of an overland link from Manchuria to Singapore is a partial explanation: the Allied situation in China grows worse as the situation in the Pacific grows better. But this daring and almost unpunished violation of the "basic sea area" is a great achievement and gives promise of even greater things to come.

*

HITLER'S DESPERATE EFFORT TO CONTINUE the war into 1945 may fail or succeed depending upon developments in East Prussia and the Rhine region during the coming fortnight. But one thing is already certain: there will be guerrilla warfare in Germany even after the collapse of the regular Nazi armies. Reports from Sweden and Switzerland give some indication of the kind of guerrilla activity the Nazis are planning. The French *maquis* type of resistance, or the Yugoslavian type based upon small groups, is not attractive to the German military mind. The Germans favor the creation of medium-sized units, composed of between 3,000 and 5,000 men, under the command of professional pro-Nazi officers. Since it will be impossible, with Allied armies occupying Germany, for war industries to supply the guerrillas, an enormous quantity of small arms and munitions is now being accumulated for future use. A special "general staff" has been appointed to handle the strategy of the new guerrilla army. The Allied command, in turn, will be confronted with a military problem far more difficult than the customary problems of mopping-up and policing. Moreover, the problem will be not only military but political. The rapidity with which the fight against the guerrillas can be carried to a successful conclusion will in large measure depend upon the utilization of anti-Hitler elements inside Germany. Such elements still exist in spite of formidable repression. They know Nazi methods better than anyone else; they know the people in each locality who may try to disguise themselves as anti-Nazis in order to sabotage the work of the Allied authorities. But to secure the effective cooperation of German anti-Nazis, we must convince them of our intention to destroy National Socialism. In this connection, some of the measures taken by the Allies in Germany are most disturbing. Reporting in the New York *Times,* Drew Middleton has described how Colonel Billings, a divisional military government officer, installed as Bürgermeister of Rötgen, one of the first German towns to be captured, a man named Ludwig Barth, "an opportunist, believed to be pro-Nazi." Surely, this is a bad beginning.

*

IF THE INFLUENCE OF WENDELL WILLKIE was ever in doubt, it has been clearly established by the behavior of his contemporaries since his death. Never was a man's spirit fought over with more greedy partisanship; never was more unscrupulous use made of his alleged opinions. Willkie died without having told the world whether he favored the election of Roosevelt or Dewey. Either he had not made up his mind, since there were so many things he disapproved of in both candidates; or he had made it up and decided not to say anything until later—perhaps not at all. One would think this would be enough to silence any talk except the sort of uninformed speculation inevitable in the circumstances. One would think so, but no sooner was Willkie gone than men who had been his friends rushed forward to tell what Willkie himself had deliberately refrained from telling. Persons whose words have wide currency, Henry Luce, for example, and Drew Pearson, made themselves, unasked, the executors of his mental estate. Some said they knew he wanted Dewey; others, claiming equal knowledge, said he wanted Roosevelt. If Willkie had not come to a final opinion before his death, they all lied. If he had, then some of them lied and the rest betrayed a trust. The whole episode seems to us as ghoulish a bit of political skulduggery as we have run into. As Clare Luce said the other day, "I think it's a rotten shame that before the man was buried his name had to be dragged into politics." This admirable sentiment was expressed just after Mrs. Luce had announced her belief that "Wendell Willkie had no intention of voting for Mr. Roosevelt."

*

THE NATION ASSOCIATES' CONFERENCE ON America's Opportunity to Create and Maintain Lasting Peace, held in New York on October 7 and 8, was a success in every way. Delegates to the number of more than 450, representing eighty-odd national organizations, attended six sessions devoted to talks by authorities in the various fields under consideration and to free discussion from the floor. Speakers at every session underscored the challenge of the coming election, analyzing the basic issues that confront the nation and stressing the responsibility of the individual citizen to meet those issues intelligently on November 7. We wish most earn-

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estly that the entire proceedings could be published and distributed to all readers. Unfortunately, government paper restrictions limit us to a sixteen-page supplement which appears with this issue. In this space it is wholly impossible to do justice to the conference material. We have had to condense heavily the texts of the speeches, leave out the contributions of several invited "discussants," and omit all discussion from the floor. In spite of these limitations we believe the supplement will serve as a useful digest for those who participated in the conference and as a sampling of what they missed for those who could not attend. The conference was the Nation Associates' first major activity. Its success encourages us to go ahead confidently with plans for other similar meetings as events warrant, and for the broad program of political education we have already announced in these columns.

*

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH RETURNS THIS WEEK to his post as drama critic. We are happy to have him back as a regular contributor to our pages. During a year's leave from Columbia University—and *The Nation*—Mr. Krutch completed a biography of Samuel Johnson, which will be published shortly by Henry Holt and Company. Margaret Marshall, literary editor of *The Nation*, who covered the theater in Mr. Krutch's absence, will resume her Notes by the Way as an informal journal which will appear each week beginning with the next issue.

Great-Power Hegemony

THE results of the Dumbarton Oaks conference have been laid before the public for judgment. The submission is accompanied by a warning that "the proposals in their present form are neither complete nor final." But this apparent frankness is far from disclosing either the extent of their incompleteness or the degree of their finality.

Many questions long under discussion have been definitively answered. The general organization will embrace economic and social welfare as well as security. Regional associations will be coordinated with the general organization. There will be no world federation. There will be no world legislature. There will be no world force at the direct and immediate disposal of a central command. The Security Council calls upon the member states to take the measures and supply the forces necessary to stop aggression. But how it reaches decision has not yet been determined; and this leaves a gaping hole in the structure.

Agreement was reached that the Council's decisions would generally require the unanimous vote of the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, China—and eventually France—its permanent members. Any one of these countries could thus impose an absolute veto on action. On the other hand, if all five agreed, only one vote among the six non-permanent members would be necessary to make their decision operative. So privileged a position corresponds of course to the inevitable responsibilities of the great powers, but it reduces to a farce the "sovereign equality" announced as the first principle of the organization. One far-reaching exception was supported by the United States, Britain, and China. Even a permanent member would lose its vote if it were accused of aggression. This proposal the Soviet Union steadfastly rejected, and the voting system was left in suspense.

Moscow will probably maintain its opposition to a rule that would prevent its veto on action touching the Baltic States, Poland, or any other area bordering on Russia. But before we condemn Mr. Stalin, we must ask ourselves whether Congress would have surrendered the American vote in a dispute with a Latin American state, or whether Parliament would have accepted a provision silencing the British representative in a conflict over the Suez Canal. By accepting the proposal, and counting on Congress or Parliament to throw it out, Moscow might have shifted the odium of defeating the most equalizing and democratic clause in the draft. If, as now seems probable, each of the permanent members of the Council is to have a veto even when party to a dispute, then we shall have, not a democratic international organization, but a great-power alliance keeping order, as *it* understands order, in the world. The great powers and they alone will remain judges in their own cause. There are already in the text marks enough of hegemony. Under Chapter XI, for example, a single great power can prevent amendment of the charter, whereas it will take more than a third of the ordinary members at the voting stage, and more than half at the ratifying stage, to veto any amendment pushed by the four or five leaders. Once again, the only sovereign equality is that of the greatest powers.

The orgazination will be hard on the pride of the small nations and harder still on the prestige of those in the middle range. They will urge changes. Should they stay out? Should those of us who detest domination crusade for equality or nothing?

In the world as it is, they, and we, would get nothing. The proposed organization, on the other hand, offers order, backed by power as the League was never backed. It offers economic and social organization with a closer approach to equality. It imposes no inequality which the lesser states do not already suffer in fact.

Structurally, the proposed system is weak. Structure can never replace good-will; but if it is strong it can tide over temporary deficiencies in that commodity. The "United Nations" will depend utterly on agreement among the great powers and will be exposed to all the

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hazards that affect their relationships. But the way to strengthen the organization and to make it just is to work from within. There, using the rights allotted them, the lesser states can establish an influence in fact which will far exceed their prerogatives in law. Many times in the national domain we have seen the consultative function hardening into a strong share in decision. Moreover, the small nations will find natural support in liberal groups within all countries, whose growing political strength must be exerted without let-up to effect a more just and democratic organization of the peace.

Brookings Popgun

SOME measure of agreement has been arrived at in the post-war thinking of government, labor, and the more progressive section of the business community. They are agreed on the necessity for full employment. They are agreed that where business activity falls short of achieving full employment the gap must be closed by government spending. They are agreed that the federal budget cannot safely be balanced until the full employment level has been reached.

To think in these terms, it is necessary to set an economic target, to figure in dollars the level of economic activity sought. There has been general agreement that we must reach a national income of about $140 billion after the war if we are to achieve approximately full employment. The importance of having a figure of this kind is that it makes planning possible. It enables the business man to estimate the size of the market for which he must strive. It enables the government to estimate the amount of public spending necessary to fill the gap between business activity and full employment. It enables the Treasury and the tax committees of Congress to know when to apply the deflationary brake of higher taxes, balance the budget, and begin the reduction of the public debt.

This whole approach to economic and fiscal policy is still anathema to Wall Street and most of the big-business crowd, as it is to their spokesmen in Congress. They don't like the idea of an economic target. They don't like the idea of planning to reach it. And they certainly don't like the idea of continued compensatory financing—the use of the federal budget as a kind of economic thermostat, stoking the furnace of business with increased spending in hard times. Yet this is the idea put forward now not merely by labor and the New Deal but also by such business men as Beardsley Ruml and such business organizations as the Committee for Economic Development.

If this is kept in mind, it will be easier to understand a recondite little pamphlet on post-war national income recently published by the Brookings Institution. Though this supposed institution of pure economic research bears the honored name of a liberal American business man, it has for many years been the outstanding academic servant of reaction in America. Under the presidency of Harold G. Moulton it has energetically prostituted scholarship in the interest of American finance and big business. The planning and the timing of its economic studies have been in the closest correlation with reactionary drives in Congress and with astute public-relations campaigns to manipulate public thinking.

This new pamphlet on post-war national income stays in the stratosphere of controversy over statistical method and steers away from drawing broad conclusions; these would unmask its purposes. But the subject of national income is handled in the pamphlet in a manner calculated to belittle the size of our post-war problem, to disparage the idea of an economic target, to discredit those public and private agencies which have tried to focus attention on the full employment problem, and to confuse popular thinking on the matter. The first fruit of this deft bit of economic propaganda will be evident when Congress, after the elections, gets down to tax revision. The right-wing bloc is anxious to balance the budget as rapidly as possible without reference to full employment, and for this purpose must cut the ground from under Ruml and the C. E. D. as well as the Treasury and labor. The Brookings pamphlet lumps them all together and tries in specious fashion to disprove the $140 billion figure on which all of them generally agree. Its own figure is $123 billion, but more important than the difference is Brookings's attempt to make any target of this kind seem futile and illusory.

The Brookings pamphlet does not limit itself to fiscal policy. Its implications extend to questions of wages and post-war living standards. If labor productivity has increased during the war—and virtually all engineers and economists agree that it has—then a rise in real wages is necessary to maintain full employment. The business interests for which Brookings speaks want lower, not higher, wages after the war. The Brookings pamphlet would have us doubt a war-time increase in productivity. It goes so far as to argue that after the war "the maintenance of existing wage rates may well be difficult even with some increase in man-hour efficiency." It thinks there may be some reduction in wage rates. The pamphlet summarily dismisses the Ruml estimate that a 50 per cent increase in living standards will be nesessary to operate our industrial plant at full capacity after the war. Brookings figures that an increase of between 6 and 11 per cent in real per capita income would be enough.

The Brookings pamphlet concludes by attacking as a "widespread" but "erroneous impression" the notion that "the war has placed the American people upon a new plateau of national income." Is the enormous out-

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pouring of planes, tanks, and guns a mirage? The economic oligarchs for whom Brookings is flunkey want us to forget the productive miracles achieved during the war. They intend to fight any attempt to achieve a similar full employment of men and machines in peace. The Brookings pamphlet may be an academic popgun, but its discharge is the beginning of a major battle.

Washington Jottings

BY LOUIS FISCHER

MANY persons here are still optimistic about the chances of Germany's complete military collapse before Christmas. On the other hand, China's military difficulties might, it is said, enable Japan to hold out on the Asiatic mainland long after its defeat at home.

Whisper: sharp tension between General Stilwell and Chiang Kai-shek. Report: Donald M. Nelson promised Chiang Kai-shek a big American-aided program of industrialization for China after the war, with a TVA on the Yangtze as key project. En route to Chungking, Nelson stopped in Moscow and saw Molotov. They discussed Russo-Chinese problems. . . . The Sinkiang situation has new explosive possibilities. . . . The Chinese in Washington are too conscious of their Russian problem to talk frankly about it. They are sure that Moscow will ask—at least—for special rights on the Chinese Eastern Railway, which passes through Manchuria, and for privileges in the Chinese ports of Dairen and Port Arthur.

From a White House visitor: the President likes the idea of setting up a number of free ports (Hansa towns) in Germany. . . . Those who read diplomatic dispatches hint that Britain's plan for Germany calls for a united country and industries restored but controlled. . . . Nobody knows just what Moscow wants for Germany.

A justice of the Supreme Court: "No peace can be enforced."

A State Department official estimates that Russia has suffered twenty-one million casualties since June 22, 1941. . . . The same official: "The Franco regime is a hollow shell. We would not object if it were crushed. Fascism in Spain cannot outlast the fall of Hitler."

Radio monitor: charges of "Yankee imperialism" are on the air waves coming north.

A British complaint: "On the one hand, certain Americans accuse us of not intending to throw our full weight into the war against Japan. On the other hand, British plans to prepare for the Pacific war are thwarted by Americans who want to beat Japan single-handed and monopolize the glory and the spoils." . . . Second British complaint: American business is invading markets which were British before the war but which Britain cannot cater to commercially now owing to its concentration on the war.

Whisper: Americans are being trained to take over some Dutch East Indian islands.

A noted journalist: "I hope when the British and Russian troops meet in the Balkans they will know enough to shake hands instead of pulling triggers."

Comment: the President says Dumbarton Oaks was 90 per cent successful. It's like saying, "I have a 75 per cent perfect automobile; it has three wheels." (Or, as a Washington columnist put it, "The egg was 90 per cent fresh.")

Widespread feeling: the President should make a Wilsonian speech soon on what the war is for and where the world is going. . . . Official: a person who helped draft the American plan for Dumbarton Oaks asserts t t the United States government wants the right to v) any measures by the new league against an aggressor a agrees with Moscow that a big power may exercise its veto even if it is itself a party in the dispute.

Authentic information: Stalin told Polish Prime Minister Mikolajczyk when they met in Moscow that the Red Army would cross the Vistula and be in Warsaw on August 6. . . . The Warsaw uprising began on August 1.

Poles in Washington are reconciled to the fact that the Moscow-born Lublin Polish Liberation Committee will rule Poland for the Kremlin. They talk of Russian "mistreatment" of the Polish underground and of the possibility of "civil war" in Poland.

From a British official source: the Soviet government was informed in advance by the British Foreign Office that General Bor, hero of Warsaw, would be chosen to succeed Sosnkowski, who was *persona non grata* to the Russians. Moscow expressed its satisfaction. Bor was appointed. Moscow attacked him. Churchill and Eden are chagrined.

Fact: in the last days of September a lengthy debate took place in the House of Commons on Poland. Both sides of the House, Conservative and Labor, showed irritation with the Russian attitude. The American press printed nothing on the debate. The Polish embassy in Washington sent summaries and quotes to the newsmen.

From an economic expert: the de-industrialization of Germany will be almost complete by the time fighting ends in Germany. It will be the combined result of bombings, battles on German soil, the years of wear and tear on unreplaced machine tools, and the transfer of factories into Nazi-occupied territory outside the Reich. . . . Much wagging of heads over Morgenthau's proposal for an agrarian Germany: "He was the last man to father it"; "How did it leak; through him?"

Opinion: the Hull-Dulles agreement was a blunder; foreign policy is the Administration's great asset. The agreement robbed F. D. R. of that asset.

Oft-heard question: Where is the Democratic Party machine? Is it all-out for F. D. R.?

Favorite indoor sport: gloomy analyses of the inter-

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national situation, which is described as "blue," "black," and "bleak." The only bright spot is France. Official and non-official observers foresee a resurrected, dynamic France assuming the leadership of a reorganized Continent. Both England and America are courting De Gaulle. Compared to Giraud and Darlan, De Gaulle was regarded as a radical. Compared to the French radicals, De Gaulle is now regarded as a stabilizing factor.

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

AIR POWER has been pretty well out of the news lately, which is a good thing in so far as it keeps the heads of the airmen from getting any fatter, but a bad thing in so far as it leads us to forget the very great contribution the air arm has made in leading us thus close to victory. The big public interest now is in ground gained and enemy divisions encircled, as far as Europe is concerned; nevertheless, air power is being used in greater strength over Europe than ever before, and in the Pacific its triumphs over Japanese-held islands are paving the way for new amphibious operations which will drive the Japanese from those islands.

Ground forces, naval forces, and common citizens are now receiving large dividends from the investment made years ago by those farsighted pioneers of air power who had to buck such opposition in their lifetime. Billy Mitchell and the others laid the foundations for victory in the air, that necessary prelude to victory everywhere. Our thanks to Mitchell, to the Royal Air Force men who saw England's salvation in a fast, heavily armed fighter and put all their chips on the Spitfire with its great firepower, to the Army Air Corps designers who laid down the Flying Fortress, and to all the others who had faith and gave it wings.

Perhaps the faith was stated over-strongly. The promises of what air power could do, the exaggerated claims for its accomplishments, made many old-line military men mistrust its prophets altogether, and aroused hopes in the public breast which were inevitably dashed, leading to consequent loss of faith. But apostles seldom are skilled in public relations, and possibly if they hadn't insisted so loudly we should not have got the instrument we have today. It is idle to speculate on what the airpower boys could have done if they had been given the instrument their extremists wanted. We can see enough of the war's history now to say that they have done nobly with the means at hand, and it is not selling air power short if we maintain our conviction that air power alone could not have won the war. That argument goes back, presumably, to the day when a midget felled a giant with a slingshot, and it shows good *esprit* when members of a military force contend that their particular arm could win the war single-handed. Obviously, however, a war is won by the concerted striving of soldiers, sailors, airmen, supply personnel, factory hands, farmers, and transportation workers: leave any group out of the team and the team won't function.

The United States team is functioning in top gear now, and the air arm is contributing greatly to the team's success. The battle to achieve aerial supremacy was won before D-Day, but the battle to maintain it continues—fighter patrols to keep intruders from molesting the front-line troops or photographing battery positions and troop concentrations, medium-bomber attacks on enemy airfields to destroy planes on the ground, heavy-bomber attacks on aircraft plants, railway choke-points, and synthetic-gas refineries. Thus the Luftwaffe is diminishing in the air, on the ground, and in the factories, in the continuation of a plan first set in operation in April, 1943. A year earlier the Germans had set their own plan in motion, a plan which called for quadrupling the output of single-engine fighters by April, 1944; by the time of that first American attack on the Focke-Wulf plant in Bremen the Luftwaffe had already doubled its existing strength and its monthly replacement capacity. The Allied counter-plan was successful: ten months later German fighter production was lower than it had been when the expansion plan was put into effect, and after the "black week of the Luftwaffe" in February, 1944, German fighters started staying on the ground.

Two months later came the air invasion of Europe, just seven weeks before D-Day. Since that time the scale of air attack has risen at an almost geometric rate: the Western Allies dropped 37,000 tons of bombs in the last six months of 1942, 86,000 tons in the single month of April, 1944; the U. S. A. A. F. has dropped nearly half its war-time total of 1,000,000 tons since D-Day, and the R. A. F. has dropped over half its war-time total of 683,000 tons (on Europe alone) in 1944. Moreover, the bombs are better aimed, delivered in much higher concentration, thus saturating the defenses, and are falling into an ever-smaller target area, as there is less and less of Europe remaining in German hands.

Air power has paved the way for the Allied armies to invade Europe; it is dropping troops behind the enemy's lines to help break his fixed positions; it is disrupting traffic to the front, bombing factories so that a good many tanks and guns never get into action, and making war a hell for millions of German civilians. In the Pacific it has radically altered naval strategy and tactics, made general fleet actions a rarity, isolated enemy-held islands, and allowed amphibious operations to go forward at a greatly accelerated pace. It is no treason to air power to point out that weather limits its activities sharply, that many bombs miss their targets, that destroyed bridges are quickly replaced, and that a city or strong point has yet to be annihilated from the air. Foot soldiers at Cassino, Caen, Bologna, and Aachen will testify to the last. There are simply some things that air

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power cannot do—yet. Future possibilities of very long-range bombers with very heavy bomb loads and the development of jet propulsion may change the whole concept of war in a way that makes this particular ex-soldier pray for the success of Dumbarton Oaks. Meanwhile, it is enough to say that air power will not win the war, but that the war could hardly have been won without air power.

The Eastern Seaboard

BY I. F. STONE

New York, October 16

SIDNEY HILLMAN and his co-workers of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee have done a job beyond all expectations. In almost all the industrial areas of the United States registration is running well ahead of 1940. This pre-election survey is based on talks here, in Washington, and in Chicago, and on check-ups by telephone from Chicago to Cincinnati, Detroit, St. Louis, and Madison, Wisconsin, With one exception, a progressive Missouri editor sour on Truman and Hannegan, the pro-Roosevelt forces display a new confidence. The Deweyites are worried. "Almost all the competent observers," the Chicago *Tribune* said editorially on Saturday, "predict that this will be a close election. A few thousand votes may decide it." This from Colonel McCormick is practically an admission of defeat. The changed atmosphere is primarily due to the registration, and even old-line Democratic politicians who find any tie-up with the C. I. O. distasteful admit off the record that most of the credit for the huge and record-breaking turnout is due to the P. A. C. Some sensational turn of events between now and election might possibly change the picture. But as it looks now, if the pro-Roosevelt forces are as successful in getting out the vote as they have been in getting out the registration, we may see the President reelected by larger majorities than in 1940, and his electoral margin may easily prove of landslide proportions.

Four weeks ago the Democrats rather than the Republicans were talking in terms of a close election, and I heard a high official of the Democratic National Committee admit privately that the President might lose. Today one finds presumably hard-boiled party politicians in the East declining to concede Maine, and in the Middle West, which looked pretty safe for Dewey, I found many observers who expected Roosevelt to carry Wisconsin and thought he now had a fighting chance in Indiana. In New York City the registration figures and the New York *Times* indorsement of Roosevelt have left the boys a little giddy. The telling point in today's *Times* editorial for the President is the "nevertheless" which follows its admission that Roosevelt is not "indispensable." Not a few middle-of-the-roaders will agree with the New York *Times* that "nevertheless, when we come down to specific cases in the choice actually before us, we cannot dismiss as unimportant the fact that Mr. Roosevelt has a large first-hand knowledge of the problems that will arise in the making of the peace." Add this "factor of experience" to the successful conduct of the war and the fear of a change while the war continues, and you have Roosevelt's selling point with those opposed to his domestic policies. The danger against which the Roosevelt forces must guard is overconfidence. Registering the vote is not the same as casting the ballots. But the registration makes possible not only a Roosevelt victory but the election of a Congress which will give the President solid support in making the peace.

Outside the working-class vote in the cities, the President's strongest appeal is on foreign policy. Both the Atlantic and the Pacific seaboards are strongly internationalist, and the Middle West is much less isolationist than it used to be. This is the key to the President's strength in the normally Republican sections of New England. Dewey is expected to carry Maine and Vermont, though the President will run ahead of the state tickets in both, with a close vote expected in Maine and a "respectable" Roosevelt vote in Vermont. New Hampshire, with an industrial section in the southern end of the state, is expected to go for Roosevelt again, and the Democrats hope to pick up one Congressional seat there. They believe they have a strong candidate in Fortunat E. Normandin in the First District. The Democrats also think they can pick up one or two Congressional seats in Massachusetts and carry the state for the President. "In Boston," one Democratic politician put it, "the white-collar Irish and the professional Irish are off Roosevelt as they were off Wilson, but the working-class Irish will stay with the President." Registration in Boston closes on October 18. The latest figure I could get was as of October 4, when there were 349,000 registered as compared with 390,000 in 1940. With two weeks to close that gap, registration was expected to top 1940.

Roosevelt will, of course, carry Rhode Island. The President is expected to run well ahead of the ticket in Connecticut, but the Democrats hope to pick up two or three of the six Congressional seats in the state, which are all held by Republicans at present. (The Congressional "hopes" referred to in this survey in almost all

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cases reflect a long off-the-record talk with a Washington old-timer in close touch for many years with the Congressional picture. He is a Democrat but one of the best-informed political observers in the capital and conservative in his estimates.) Registration is good in Bridgeport, but a lot depends on the Socialist vote. Jasper McLevy is running for Governor, and there may be enough votes for the straight Socialist ticket to affect the result—and help Dewey—in a close election.

The first returns in the New York *Daily News* poll today, a poll with an excellent past record, show a very slight edge for Dewey, 50.3 per cent to 49.7 for Roosevelt. But the first returns cover neither Buffalo nor Albany, both strong Roosevelt cities. Total registration in New York City is only 173,847 under 1940, but with more than 375,000 soldier-ballot applications the total number of New Yorkers who can vote in the election is far above four years ago. Not all of this registration is a pro-Roosevelt factor. Of the five New York boroughs, Queens has the best registration showing. Normally Democratic, it went for Willkie in 1940 and has been a stronghold of fascist and isolationist crackpots. A few weeks ago Democrats were prepared privately to concede New York to Dewey. That is no longer true today. There will be a big Roosevelt majority in Albany, where there is much ill-feeling against Dewey, and in predominantly Polish Buffalo, where Republican State Chairman Jaeckle, the boss of Erie County, has antagonized the Poles. The Democrats think they can elect two new Congressmen in Buffalo, Dombrowski and Barnes. Roosevelt *can* carry New York. My guess is that he will.

Both the Democrats and the labor people with whom I have talked expect Roosevelt to carry Pennsylvania. In Philadelphia County registration is a little below 1940, 1,053,000 as compared with 1,116,000. With the soldier vote, however, the total number of ballots which can be cast is greater than in 1940. The second largest industrial county of the state, Alleghany (Pittsburgh), had almost 710,000 persons registered on September 30 as compared with a final registration of 741,000 in 1940. This year's final figures are not yet available, but the P. A. C. expects it to top 1940 by 30,000 or more. With a heavy vote in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee expects to pick up as many Congressional seats as were lost through the careful Republican redistricting of the state. The committee also hopes to pick up two seats in New Jersey, which looks as close as New York. The Democrats think they have a slight edge in the state. Hudson County (Hague) is expected to turn in its usual majority, enough to counterbalance Republican majorities downstate. The issue may be decided in Camden County, where the P. A. C. has been doing a vigorous job on registration. The figures there are expected to exceed 1940 by 10 or 15 per cent, but the final count is not yet available.

The Democrats expect to carry Delaware and pick up a Congressman there. Congressional prospects are not good in Maryland. Montgomery County has too many anti-New Deal wealthy "Washingtonians"; the Eastern Shore is "Democratic but peculiar"—the latter adjective an understatement; but the state is expected to go for Roosevelt.

The registration figures have made a sweeping change in the political outlook of the Middle West. When I was out there four weeks ago, the P. A. C. was still an unknown quantity and a wistful hope. There was a new confidence there last week. Final figures are not yet available in Ohio, but it looks as if they would be close to or above 1940, without counting 200,000 expected soldier ballots. In Washington it is now thought that Roosevelt may carry Ohio; in Ohio, Democrats and P. A. C.-ers feel sure that he will. "We're sure of Roosevelt," one laborite said; "now we're concentrating on beating Taft." If they get out the vote, the Democrats can pick up as many as seven Congressional seats in the state. Pro-Roosevelt forces are now equally confident in Michigan. Last Friday, with five days of registration left, there were 728,890 voters registered in the city of Detroit as compared with 722,207 in 1940. In addition, about 30,000 soldier ballots are expected. The figures available from upstate are not so good as that. Dewey's birthplace, Owosso, has 8,500 registered as against 7,200 in 1940. The P. A. C. concedes Owosso.

The Republicans in the Middle West now admit that Illinois is doubtful. The registration in Cook County was a surprise to everyone, and it is estimated that there are more than 200,000 new voters on the books. Downstate, Roosevelt is in a better position than he was in 1940. Registration is heavy in Peoria, East St. Louis, Rock Island, Moline, Decatur, and Springfield, and it looks as if the totals would be greater than in 1940. Scott Lucas has much Republican support downstate against the Chicago *Tribune* candidate, Richard J. Lyons, and is expected to run ahead of the President. Stephen A. Day, the darling of the America Firsters, has always run well behind the rest of the Republican ticket, and if Roosevelt carries Illinois, Emily Taft Douglas will probably succeed Day as Congressman-at-large. A Roosevelt victory in Illinois will give the Democrats from two to four new seats in Congress.

Middle Western Democrats no longer concede Indiana, Wisconsin, or Minnesota. In Indiana the industrial counties show increases in registration that run from 15,000 in Marion (Indianapolis) to 30,000 in Lake (Hammond, Gary, East Chicago). Roosevelt lost the state by only 25,000 in 1940. The turnout in Milwaukee, Madison, Racine, and Kenosha explains the changed outlook in Wisconsin. William T. Evjue of the Madison *Capitol-Times*, a grand old Progressive and a fighting liberal editor, expects Wisconsin to go for

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Roosevelt. Wisconsin, like Minnesota, has been affected by Senator Ball's courageous refusal to go along with Dewey, and Roosevelt is now conceded a chance to carry Minnesota. Among the Stassenites in the Northwest one hears talk of "Roosevelt in 1944, Stassen in 1948—let's get rid of Dewey now." Unless I and a lot of other people are mistaken, it looks as if they would.

[*Mr. Stone has previously reported on the situation in the key Middle Western states of Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan.* The Nation *has also carried detailed studies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The reports on California, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the border states of Missouri and Kansas in the present issue round up our pre-election coverage from correspondents on the spot.*]

Votes, Jobs, and Taxes

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

NO OTHER issue in the campaign has raised so much smoke and disclosed so little fire as the question of post-war jobs. Both parties have glibly promised that there will be jobs for all if their candidates are victorious. And both have failed signally to tell *how* full employment is to be achieved in the post-war period. Since there were at least fourteen million unemployed when the last Republican President was ousted from the White House, and eight to ten million unemployed under a Democratic President at the beginning of the European war, the American voter might well maintain a Missourian's skepticism until the rival candidates tell more precisely how they intend to see that jobs are assured for ten million demobilized service men and twelve to fifteen million displaced war workers.

Mr. Roosevelt's general approach to the problem of jobs is of course known. It was tested in the recovery programs of the 1930's, and it is spelled out in some detail in the post-war recommendations of the National Resources Planning Board.

The recovery measures of the New Deal were based, not as Mr. Dewey would have us believe, on the "mature-economy" philosophy of a few rather sensational writers, but on the now generally accepted theories of Lord Keynes, Britain's most distinguished economist. The one consistent thread running through such New Deal measures as the NRA, the AAA, public works, the Social Security Act, the National Labor Relations Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the WPA, NYA, FSA, and CCC was a recognition of the necessity for increasing and maintaining the purchasing power of the low-income groups if the American economy was to operate on a high level. Governor Dewey has shown only contempt for this program. I have searched his speeches in vain for any clear recognition of the necessity for maintaining buying power, for raising subnormal living standards, or for planning public works to supplement private industry's efforts to create jobs. Mr. Dewey even goes so far as to assert that Mr. Roosevelt's approach to the depression of the 1930's was "defeatist" and was based on the assumption that "our task is not to build more goods but to fight among ourselves over what we have."

Just how "defeatist" the New Deal was may be seen from business statistics of the years in question. In 1932, the last year of Republican rule, the Federal Reserve index of industrial production was 58; the index for construction contracts was 28; the index of employment was 77.6. In 1940, before the influence of war contracts distorted the indices, the index of industrial production had risen to 125 (more than double the 1932 level); construction had jumped to 81 (triple that of 1932); and employment had advanced to 104.7. Consumer spending was higher in 1939 than in the boom year of 1929. Industrial profits had also shown spectacular rise; there were less than half as many business failures in 1939 as in 1929. For reasonable people this should dispose of the contention that the New Deal has "ruined" business.

Yet we cannot get away from the fact that recovery under the New Deal was only partial recovery. Mr. Dewey's strongest campaign point to date has been the Roosevelt Administration's failure to deal adequately with unemployment in the late 1930's. Although unemployment was reduced by at least 40 per cent during Mr. Roosevelt's first seven years in the White House, and almost 100 per cent as a result of the war, the record is not a satisfactory one. During those early years Mr. Roosevelt repeatedly compromised on the scope of his projects. Instead of providing jobs for all the unemployed, his public works, for example, never took care of even half of them.

Fortunately, however, Mr. Roosevelt appears to have learned from his mistakes. In any event, the responsibility for our lack of a clear post-war program rests not with the President but with Congress. A year and a half ago the National Resources Planning Board proposed a concrete and comprehensive plan for using the many powers of the government to raise living standards with a view to obtaining the greatest possible use of our resources and the maximum number of jobs. Specifically, it recommended that the minimum-wage idea be expanded to support and maintain purchasing power, that regional plans be set up for backward and

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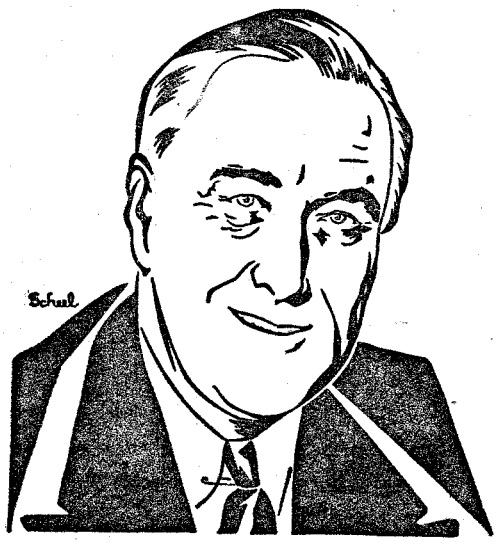
depressed areas throughout the country, and that the social-security system be strengthened "to provide a standard of living that is not too widely at variance with what we like to think of as the 'American standard.'" Finally, to make sure that everyone willing and able to work should have a job, the board proposed the establishment of a permanent federal works agency



whose duty it would be to provide real jobs, at full wages, for all workers unable to obtain employment in private industry. Other proposals were in the process of formulation by the NRPB, but the entire program was thrown out the window when Republicans and anti-New Deal Democrats in Congress joined forces to abolish the agency.

Mr. Dewey does not tell us how he would have cut down unemployment in the 1930's if he had been President during that period. And in speaking of the post-war period he is vague and confused. He seems to feel, as Mr. Hoover felt before him, that private enterprise if left alone can provide all the jobs required. "Certainly," he declares, the jobs "will not be found in the government itself." In opening his campaign in Philadelphia Mr. Dewey spoke airily about unlimited possibilities for the expansion of private enterprise. "Why, just take housing, for example," he declared. "If we simply build the homes the American people need . . . it will keep millions of men employed for years." He then went on to emphasize the tremendous pent-up post-war need for automobiles as a second great source of jobs.

The naivete of Mr. Dewey's whole approach to the job problem may be seen in the figures and illustrations that he himself chooses. Full employment, at the present level of population, means approximately sixty million jobs, or about fifteen million more than existed in 1939. "Millions" of these, Mr. Dewey says, will be provided in housing. Perhaps so. But it is interesting to note that in 1939, when it produced 515,000 non-farm houses, the housing industry employed only 650,000 in its peak month. After the war, Mr. Dewey says, we shall need to build a million houses a year, or approximately twice the 1939 production. According to my mathematics, this means a maximum of 650,000 new jobs—possibly a few hundred thousand more if indirect jobs are included. But Mr. Dewey skips over the essence of the housing problem—the fact that the private housing industry cannot build houses profitably for the groups that are most in need of new housing. If we are to depend solely on private enterprise, we shall not even approximate a million new houses annually.

Nor will the automobile industry take up the slack. In 1939, a relatively good year for it, average employment was only 394,000. While production in the first post-war years should greatly exceed the 1939 figure, technological advances will undoubtedly cut the number of man-hours per car substantially. Two or three hundred thousand new jobs are about all that can be hoped for in the industry.

Even this expansion in jobs cannot be achieved, Mr. Dewey admits, without some government action. The government must, he declares, provide "an economic climate in which business, industry, and agriculture can grow and flourish." Just what does he mean by "economic climate"? Obviously he is not talking about building up a purchasing power that will support a high level of business. Nor is he interested in public works to buttress and support the laggard construction industries. These are economic theories, dreamed up by economists and New Dealers; they have no place in Mr. Dewey's program of "economic freedom." Although he is never very precise about the kind of encouragement that he believes the government should give private business, Mr. Dewey provides us with a few clues. As a first step in encouraging business to provide more jobs he believes that "our repressive tax laws, which now operate to penalize incentive . . . must be drastically revised." Beyond this he would abolish the "government regulations which discourage and wear down producers in every field," and write laws "that are sufficiently simple and clear that men can know what they are allowed to do."

The latter suggestions are of course pure demagoguery. Everyone, including the New Dealers, is opposed to needless and hampering regulations. Everyone would like to see laws written as simply and clearly as possible. But clarity is not an exclusive possession of either political party. Neither the Republican business men who have studded the war-time agencies nor the Republican minority in Congress have had any better luck than the Democrats in obtaining clarity without loss of accuracy or precision. No measure drafted by a Democrat, for example, has suffered such widespread misinterpretation or produced such confusion as Senator Taft's

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attempt to write into the federal-ballot law a somewhat gratuitous ban on political activity by the army.

Stripped of verbiage, Mr. Dewey's plan for post-war jobs comes down to a proposal for the revision of our tax structure to encourage business. In his special tax broadcast, delivered on October 3, Mr. Dewey declared that one of the first acts of his Administration would be to "establish and proclaim a consistent national tax policy—one directed toward achieving full employment and a rising national income—one that will assure us of a solvent nation and the ultimate reduction of our national debt."

These are, of course, principles to which everyone can subscribe. But after this tremendous build-up Mr. Dewey lets us down with a crash when it comes to specific proposals. The new tax laws "under which America may once more live and grow" turn out to be nothing more drastic than a partial elimination of the war-time levies and a general reduction in taxes as a means of encouraging enterprise. To do Mr. Dewey full credit, it must be admitted that he advocates the eventual elimination of all excise taxes except those on alcoholic beverages, tobacco, and gasoline. But this wholesome proposal is not implemented by any suggestion for alternative means of raising needed revenues. In fact, after insisting that lower taxes are necessary to stimulate business, Mr. Dewey neatly begs the question of adequate revenue by declaring that it is better to have a low tax rate with a national income of $150,000,000,000 than a high rate with an income of only $76,000,000,000.

If we are to judge Mr. Dewey's economic program solely on the basis of his campaign speeches, we may conclude that despite his invectives against the bureaucrats and New Dealers he really is a mild New Dealer at heart. He has declared himself in favor of security regulation, bank-deposit insurance, support for farm prices, and the Wagner act. His suggestions for the revision of the social-security act are almost identical with specific proposals which were ignored by Congress when President Roosevelt incorporated them in his annual messages in both 1943 and 1944. And Mr. Dewey's tax program, boiled down, appears to differ from Mr. Roosevelt's peace-time tax policies only in being much more vague and in ignoring the necessity for adequate revenues.

A closer analysis of Mr. Dewey's proposals for tax revision suggests, however, that they may not be so innocent or so befuddled as they appear on the surface. Mr. Dewey's recommendations, although stated in vague and general terms, check point by point with those issued recently by the Committee for Economic Development. The C. E. D. program has some merit, but it fits in a little too nicely with the campaign now being waged by big business to abolish or greatly reduce the corporation tax—which is one of the main bulwarks of our present tax system. This campaign is being pushed with great vigor on the wholly unproved and unprovable premise that heavy corporation taxes cut down employment. Actually, a moderate tax on corporation *profits* adds nothing to the costs of production and would appear to have no effect on incentive. Although Mr. Dewey apparently does not consider it expedient to come out openly for the elimination of the corporation tax, his specific indorsement of much of big business's tax program and his constant use of such phrases as "our repressive tax laws" and "penalizing incentive" are apparently meant to convey to business men the impression that he supports their current campaign against corporate taxes. From a fiscal as well as a humanitarian standpoint, this campaign carries great, though largely unrecognized, dangers. If successful, it would not only shift the burden of taxation from the rich to the poor but encourage corporations to hoard their earnings rather than distribute them in dividends, where they would be subject to high surtax rates. A similar tendency toward corporation hoarding was responsible, according to Keynes and other noted economists, for the severity of the depression which followed the boom inspired by the Republican program for encouraging "enterprise" in the late 1920's. Nowhere in Mr. Dewey's speeches have I been able to find any recognition of the grave errors in policy which led to the Wall Street crash of 1929.

In assessing the quality of economic leadership that may be expected from the rival Presidential candidates, we must not forget the remarkable home-front generalship which President Roosevelt has provided during the war. While the President may be criticized for vacillation and weakness, possibly due to inexperience, in some of his anti-depression policies, he has fought vigorously to save America from the catastrophe of inflation. He showed both courage and skill in his long battle against the efforts of special interests—the cotton growers, the farm bloc, the oil interests, and certain sections of organized labor—to breach the stabilization front. His fight for a more adequate tax measure, which would have made possible lower taxes in the post-war period, will go down in history as one of the most long-sighted fights against great odds ever waged by a Chief Executive. The battle against inflation is not yet won. If the

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European war extends into 1945, the outcome of the crucial home-front struggle will have greater influence on the prospects for reconversion and full employment than will any of the other developments we have considered.

Once again we do not know where Mr. Dewey stands. So far he has given no indication that he is even aware of the inflationary forces that have been created by the war. And he has been equally indifferent to the perils of deflation arising from a too sudden contraction in government expenditures in the post-war period. His silence on these issues is particularly disturbing in view of the reckless irresponsibility shown by the Republican minority in Congress on questions of fiscal policy. There was a time when the Republican Party was regarded as the party of sound finance. But this is no longer true. The same Republicans who only a few years ago were complaining about the size of the national debt and the threat to the stability of the dollar have supported the farm bloc and other special interests in their campaign to break the stabilization program, and have opposed the President's efforts to increase taxes so as to put war financing on a sound basis.

Mr. Dewey cannot, of course, be held responsible for all the sins of his party. But in the absence of a constructive program for stimulating domestic production, for raising buying power, for encouraging foreign trade, or for providing public employment in the transition period, American voters can hardly be blamed if they put his job promises in the same pot with Mr. Hoover's two chickens.

[*This is Mr. Stewart's second article on the chief issues of the campaign.*]

Russia's Post-War Policy

BY ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Moscow, October 9, by Cable

FOUR American magazines and one book publisher have recently asked me for articles and a book on Soviet post-war plans. This, together with the many discussions on reconversion appearing in the American press, seems to indicate a widespread belief in America that victory is already in the bag and that the time has come to take up the problems of the peace.

No such views are held in the Soviet Union. Soviet newspapers publish no articles on reconversion. Persistent attempts by American correspondents to induce Soviet officials to talk on general post-war plans only provoke the counter-question: "Why can't you give your attention to shortening the war?"

Limited post-war plans are of course available. Architects have plans for rebuilding the destroyed cities; I described them in *The Nation* last August. Factory managers have plans for expanding or contracting production, though these are not given out. Almost every individual has plans for that desperately desired moment when it will again be possible to work for the fulfilment of personal hopes.

The Russians see victory as something very close but not yet won, something still needing an all-out effort. Even now the military decision could be qualified by carelessness, over-confidence, or lack of coordination among the democratic Allies. The time, cost, and conditions of victory are still undecided. And in the Soviet view these are the basic factors determining any post-war reconstruction plans. How many more Russian lives must be spent to conquer Hitler? How completely will the Allies cooperate to uproot Nazi influences in Europe? To what extent can the war-time cooperation of the Soviet Union, America, and Britain be continued as peace-time cooperation? To what extent can the friendship of states along the Soviet border be secured? Only when these things are known can the Soviet people begin to plan full peace-time production, which they all passionately desire. Meanwhile they are thinking about all the possibilities, and sometimes they are worrying lest, though they win the war, they should not quite win the peace.

It is in the light of peace-time needs that all Soviet policy toward the border countries, from Finland to Bulgaria, must be considered. Every intelligent Soviet citizen knows what this policy is; one need not ask the Kremlin. I have discussed it with dozens of persons, and they all say practically the same thing. They have not the slightest desire to Sovietize Finland, Poland, Rumania, or other neighboring states. Most Soviet citizens think their system is the best in the world and that eventually other countries will copy it, but they don't want to hasten the process. They regard American and British friendship with the Soviet Union as infinitely more important to world peace and progress than a Soviet Poland, Rumania, or even France. They know that a socialist revolution in any European country would strain and possibly break American-Soviet friendship. For this reason they have discouraged any immediate move toward socialization in the regions they have entered thus far.

The Soviet Union wants governments in the border states which will be sufficiently capitalist to win American and British recognition—and, incidentally, Ameri-

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can financing, since obviously the Soviet Union has no surplus wealth—but which will be at the same time definitely "anti-fascist" and friendly to the Soviets. It wants them to serve, not as a *cordon sanitaire* between the Soviet Union and the Western world, but as a bridge.

At present Moscow is watching the American and British attitude toward Germany very carefully. There is considerable fear lest the Americans "turn soft" and permit the Nazis to escape full retribution for their crimes. Correspondents have just visited Tallinn, where they saw another of the human slaughterhouses which the Nazis maintained. This one was especially horrible because it had been used so recently—many dead bodies were lying around still unconsumed. Old men who had started to run, babies with their skulls crushed in surrounded a horrible funeral pyre. One woman correspondent who has made ten trips to the front told me she could not sleep for three nights after Tallinn.

The prevalent anxiety lest the Western Allies lean toward mercy and forgiveness for Germany has blossomed in two articles in a single number of that highly important weekly *War and the Working Class*, which is run by Trud, organ of the trade unions. Its contributors are scientists, writers, and trade unionists, not government officials, and it is therefore a highly authoritative but unofficial journal of Soviet public opinion. This week *War and the Working Class* includes an article on the strategy of "mercy," attacking recent statements by Sir Cecil Hurst, chairman of the United Nations Commission on War Criminals, and one against the Vatican's foreign policy. Neither article breathes a spirit of revenge or even of hate, but they make it plain that the Russians expect the pledge to bring war criminals to trial and punishment made at the Moscow conference two years ago to be literally and thoroughly fulfilled.

Military victory, in the opinion of all my Soviet acquaintances, is insufficient. Only the thorough extirpation of fascism in all its moral and political aspects can safeguard the future peace. The great drive to increase the productivity of Soviet industry and farming, the successive agreements with the border countries, Soviet insistence on the punishment of war criminals—all these are indivisible parts of that total victory which alone can repay the terrible cost of the war.

The Campaign in the West

California for Roosevelt

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, October 9

IN THE rough-and-tumble, wide-open political arena that is California one prediction seems reasonably safe—that Franklin D. Roosevelt will carry the state in November. Not only is California extremely war conscious, but the President's personal popularity has remained fairly constant since 1932. While extremely disappointed over the failure of the Democratic Party to renominate Henry Wallace, the important independent-liberal-progressive element in the state is solidly behind the President. Worthy of mention, in this connection, is the fact that Bartley Crum, prominent San Francisco attorney and Willkie's campaign manager in the state in 1940, has come out with an emphatic indorsement of the President. The Willkie Republicans in California will generally follow suit.

The major problem, from the outset, has been that of getting voters to register, but thanks largely to the efforts of organized labor this problem has been solved. Figures obtained on October 3 indicate that the registration in Los Angeles County, where the bulk of the voting strength lies, will be close to 1,850,000. This would represent the largest registration in the history of the county, approximately 150,000 larger than in 1940. Nearly 350,000 new registrations have been obtained in the county since the primaries. Of the county vote, it would appear that approximately 1,100,000 will be Democratic, 650,000 Republican, and the remainder made up of the minor parties plus those who "decline to state" their political affiliations. With the ratio 60 per cent Democratic to 36 per cent Republican, it would seem as certain as anything can ever be in a political race that California's electoral votes will go to Roosevelt. Even the Republicans, who have been systematically attempting to sabotage the "registration campaign," concede that the new registrations since the primaries represent predominantly labor, that is, pro-Roosevelt, votes. A major factor in the effort to get the voters to register has been, of course, the active campaign conducted by the C. I. O. What is more remarkable, however, is the strenuous effort put forth by the A. F. of L. I am informed that the A. F. of L. has spent $12 to every $1 spent by the C. I. O. However, the aggressive leadership of the C. I. O. has offset this discrepancy.

Despite the obvious handicap which the Republicans must contend against, there is no defeatism in their camp. They are well-organized, aggressive, and possessed of unlimited funds. Always better financed than the Democrats, they are spending with a lushness this year that indicates a war chest of gargantuan proportions. Pressure is being applied to every possible source of cam-

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paign funds, and undeniably the money is rolling in. The Republicans have powerful newspaper support also. According to *Editor and Publisher,* only seven newspapers in the state, with a combined circulation of 251,940, are for Roosevelt, whereas sixty-five newspapers, with a combined circulation of 2,177,182, are actively supporting Dewey.

Of particular interest in California is the role currently being played by our unhappy Governor, Earl Warren. Elected in 1942 as a "non-partisan" candidate, Governor Warren now finds himself in a most embarrassing position. The Republicans are clamoring for his active support; they insist in no uncertain terms that he discard the pretense of non-partisanship and "deliver." But it is rumored that the Governor is not particularly devoted to Dewey. At the Chicago convention he incurred the enmity of some of his chief supporters by declining to accept the nomination for Vice-President. He declined for a thoroughly sound reason—namely, he knew that California would vote for Roosevelt. While he was able to resist the pressure to accept the nomination, he now finds himself unable to get out of the obligation to support the Dewey-Bricker ticket. He shows a remarkable preference, however, for speaking assignments remote from California. This half-hearted support of the ticket is rapidly alienating some of his Republican backing. It is rather amusing, therefore, to witness the heat being publicly applied to Governor Warren by Raymond Moley in the columns of the Los Angeles *Times* (October 5): "Much of the responsibility for carrying California will rest, however, on the broad shoulders of Governor Warren. If he actively campaigns up and down the state and beats the bushes, as he did two years ago, he can win tremendous numbers of votes for Mr. Dewey. Certainly, he is needed here more than in Illinois and Ohio, where the national committee has sent him this week." Broad as Governor Warren's shoulders are, they are not quite that broad. For the Republicans are discovering that Warren has only one major political loyalty, and that is to his own political fortunes.

An important factor in the campaign in Los Angeles County has been the work of the Hollywood Democratic Committee, representing the employees of the motion-picture industry. This committee has no official connection with the Democratic Party but it supports all liberal, progressive, and pro-war candidates. Utilizing the talent at its disposal, the committee has conducted an extremely effective campaign. Efforts of some of the anti-labor and reactionary elements in the industry, not a few of whom have pronounced anti-Semitic tendencies, to break the hold of the Hollywood Democratic Committee have been ridiculously ineffective. These anti-Roosevelt elements put on a typically Hollywood show at the Coliseum meeting staged for Governor Dewey. With Cecil B. De Mille directing the performance, most of the trained seals of the industry were on hand to do their bit at the special instigation of L. B. Mayer and associates. It was this "talent show" that attracted the thousands of Angelenos who attended the meeting. Governor Dewey's speech provoked only faint applause. One of the appalling aspects of the campaign in Hollywood has been the spectacle of leading Jewish figures in the industry lining up with reactionary, crackpot anti-Semites to defeat Roosevelt. When reproached on this score recently, one Jewish producer said, "Oh, well, these boys won't be anti-Semitic after November—it's just politics."

Los Angeles County voters will probably retire a number of Congressmen in November—they very effectively retired John Costello in the primaries. At this writing it seems likely that Representative Ward Johnson, Republican, will be replaced by Clyde Doyle, a Democrat, in the Long Beach district; that Ned Healey, Democrat, will replace the red-baiting anti-labor Norris Poulson in the Thirteenth Congressional District; that the liberal Archibald Young has a reasonably good chance of defeating Representative Hinshaw (Pasadena Republican); that Representative Tom Ford, New Deal Democrat, will be succeeded by the actress Helen Gahagan, whose liberal activities are well known; and that Ellis Patterson will win easily over Jesse R. Kellems (Republican) in the Sixteenth Congressional District. If these predictions are sustained in November, the southern part of the state will have greatly improved the character of its representation in Congress.

A remarkable feature of the current campaign, particularly in the Thirteenth Congressional District, has been the grass-roots, neighborhood-by-neighborhood character of the effort. Without minimizing the role of the P. A. C., it is my impression that the organizing work has been largely spontaneous. The campaign is being waged by an army of aroused housewives who are ringing doorbells, telephoning incessantly, and plotting into the wee small hours. Tireless in their efforts, these women are fighting with almost no funds. In my experience in Los Angeles, which dates from 1922, I have never witnessed anything quite like it. It is particularly remarkable in a community notoriously made up of "newcomers" and "outsiders," where in the past there has been little neighborhood solidarity.

Criticism of the National Democratic Committee in general, and of Robert Hannegan in particular, has been widespread in California. One of the ablest and most experienced Democratic leaders in the state said to me recently that in his twenty-five years' experience in California this was the "most ineptly and stupidly managed Democratic campaign" he had witnessed. Virtually no assistance, financial or otherwise, has been provided by the National Committee. Despite this fact, however, California today would vote for Roosevelt by a substantial margin.

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Wisconsin and Its Neighbors

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Milwaukee, October 10

A FEW weeks ago the Republicans in the North Central states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Indiana were entirely confident of winning for Governor Dewey. In each of these states the situation has now changed—though Indiana must still be rated "safe" for Dewey, barring a sustained last-minute Roosevelt drive.

The pre-election picture is almost identical in the three states: the farmers and small towns are for Dewey, and the industrial centers are for Roosevelt. The new hope for the President arises primarily from organized labor's belated success in its registration campaign. For this and other reasons, Republican master-minds have developed the jitters. Minnesota was upset by Senator Ball's denunciation of Dewey's foreign-policy evasions. The G. O. P. leaders in Wisconsin decided they needed a Dewey speech in industrial Milwaukee; they also requested, oddly enough, the organizing help of one of Harold Stassen's bright young men. Republican regional headquarters began to worry lest the Indiana organization should fail to appreciate the dangers of the rapidly developing P. A. C. registration drive.

The situation adds up, therefore, to an extremely close vote in each state. Though Dewey had previously been rated a favorite, the Roosevelt-Truman ticket is now gaining; independents and other "silent" voters may decide the issue either by the way they mark their ballots or—perhaps—by failing to mark them at all.

In Wisconsin the major question is who will get the Progressive Party vote. The Progressives took a beating in the August primary, receiving barely enough votes to keep the party's place on the November ballot. Two years ago they elected their candidate for Governor, but today the fight appears to be between Governor Goodland, the Republican nominee, and former Mayor Daniel Hoan of Milwaukee, the Democratic, with Goodland strongly favored. In the Senatorial race Senator Wiley, Republican isolationist, is challenged by Representative Howard J. McMurray, Democrat, and Representative Harry Southoff, Progressive, with McMurray having the better fighting chance.

The Progressive convention this year, under Senator La Follette's influence, refused to repeat its 1940 indorsement of Mr. Roosevelt. The best guess, however, is that most Progressives will vote for the President in preference to Dewey. Mr. Roosevelt is indorsed by the Progressive Congressional candidate in the First District and is supported of course by the internationalist group which backed his pre-Pearl Harbor policies.

Organized labor in Wisconsin has long been a powerful force, and it was educated to a high degree of political intelligence by the elder La Follette and Dan Hoan. This stood Roosevelt in good stead when local blunders by the C. I. O. Political Action Committee almost produced a serious split.

The P. A. C.'s Milwaukee leadership, in defiance of outside advice, rushed into the Democratic primary with indorsements and—worse yet—apparently tried to include doctrinal union politics. It attacked both Hoan and Andrew J. Biemiller, running for Congress in the Fifth District, whose old-time Socialist connections did not please some of the left-wing P. A. C. doctrinaires. When the P. A. C. again blundered by attempting to put over one of its defeated candidates as Democratic state chairman, Dan Hoan blew up—and the fight was duly reported in hostile newspapers. Common sense finally restored the United Labor Committee, composed of all union groups, which in 1940 was largely responsible for Roosevelt's 78,000 plurality in Milwaukee County—a plurality that beat Willkie's 53,000 outside the county. Milwaukee registration is now ahead of the comparable 1940 figure.

A bad situation has developed in the Fifth District, where the notorious isolationist Louis D. Thill, who was purged in 1942, may make a comeback. Mr. Roosevelt is far stronger than the Democratic ticket generally, and it is hard for candidates to reach his coattails since Wisconsin has a separate Presidential ballot. On the state ballot, as one local observer puts it, the voters habitually "scratch like hell."

The Minnesota Republican machine, intrenched in state power, had about decided it would obtain a small Dewey majority—overturning Roosevelt's 1940 plurality of 48,000—when Senator Ball upset their apple cart. Some ordinary voters even in Ball's home town were inclined to consider the Senator's statement erratic and unfortunate, but the G. O. P. leadership showed signs of fright and anger. One result may be the revival of foreign policy as an issue in Minnesota. Democratic candidates in Wisconsin and Indiana, if they attempt to exploit the Republican anti-preparedness and anti-security record, have an uphill battle, but the independent vote in Minnesota may be influenced by Ball to reexamine Dewey's brief pronouncements on foreign policy.

If that happens, it will be Roosevelt's second advantage. The first is the registration campaign in the Twin Cities. The union membership of Minneapolis and St. Paul can decide Minnesota's vote in the Electoral College, and it is much more active than the Democratic state committee. Even with the old Farmer-Labor Party remnants added, the organization is weak.

The President is the only Democrat conceded much of a chance. Governor Thye, running for reelection, is likely to win a big victory; the state delegation in Congress, with one exception, is already solidly Republican.

In Indiana there is intense anti-New Deal sentiment. The state voted for Willkie four years ago. Farmers

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north of Indianapolis fear the P. A. C., resent "regimentation," and are generally against the Administration. They liked Dewey's rear-platform speeches, on his return from the Oklahoma City speech, promising to sweep the New Dealers out. The new factor—the only one which creates any doubt about the state—is the sudden surge of registration in the industrial centers.

This has stimulated even the Democratic organization, which is not nearly so weak as in other Middle Western states. Governor Schricker, running for the Senate, is extremely popular personally, and he has conducted his state administration well despite the handicap of a Republican legislature.

The result is that in Indiana the state Democratic candidates are conceded a better chance than the President. Schricker's Republican rival for the Senate, Homer E. Capehart, was a major instigator of the abortive "grass-roots" anti-New Deal conference in 1938; in this campaign he is caricatured as a juke-box manufacturer. Senator Samuel D. Jackson, who was appointed by Governor Schricker to fill out the term of the late Senator Van Nuys, is the Democratic candidate for Governor, and his vote is expected to run close to the Schricker total. The situation of the Republicans was not improved when their convention chose as national committeeman a former Klansman, Robert W. Lyons, who was forced to resign by public reaction—including a courageous attack by Indiana's Republican Representative Charles M. La Follette of Evansville.

Democratic spellbinders profess to believe that the farmer is slowly drifting back to the Administration, but if the President carries the state, in defiance of advance surveys, the reason will be partly Republican failure to get the 75 per cent farm vote with which Dewey is credited and partly a truly unexpected outpouring of labor and independent votes.

Border States

BY MILBURN P. AKERS

St. Louis, October 10

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT may defeat Thomas E. Dewey in the state of Missouri. If he does—and at this writing it is by no means certain that he will—the victory will be solely that of Roosevelt the commander-in-chief; not that of Roosevelt the Democrat, as it was in 1932, or of Roosevelt the liberal, as it was in 1936. It will not even be that of Roosevelt the international statesman, as it was in 1940.

In a contest between Roosevelt the Democrat and Dewey the Republican the President would undoubtedly be defeated, for the Democratic Party in Missouri is in a sorry plight. He would be defeated in a contest between Roosevelt the liberal and Dewey the conservative, for liberalism, never of a hardy growth in this half Southern, half Midwestern state, has been confounded by the recognition accorded the St. Louis Hannegans and the Kansas City Pendergasts. He would be defeated in a contest between Roosevelt the advocate of world collaboration and Dewey the 1940 isolationist-nationalist and the 1944 devotee of the Gallup poll's revelation of declining Midwest nationalism.

If the President does win, the vote will be cast as an expression (1) of confidence in his conduct of the war, and (2) of the hope of thousands of parents that they are protecting their service sons and daughters against the dangers involved in changing commanders in the midst of war.

These imponderables are factors with which present-day political analysts are unacquainted. They have not been present in a Presidential contest since 1864. They make political prognostication—an inexact, uncertain science at best—utterly worthless where volatile states are concerned. And Missouri, contrary to popular belief, is volatile. In eleven Presidential contests between 1900 and 1940 inclusive, Missouri has given its electoral votes to the Republican nominee five times and to the Democratic nominee six times.

Ignoring these imponderables and considering only past performance, manifest trends, and the relative strength of rival organizations, one is forced to the conclusion that Missouri will go Republican on November 7. But in the same breath one adds that it might go Democratic if the party's strategists could better dramatize the commander-in-chief role.

Here are the facts which indicate that Missouri is headed toward the Dewey camp:

President Roosevelt carried the state in 1940 by a majority of 87,467. That was far below his 1936 majority of 413,152 and his 1932 majority of 460,693. Attrition, if it has proceeded for the past four years at the same rate, would more than wipe out a majority of 87,467. It would, in fact, give the state to Dewey with several hundred thousand votes to spare, unless the irreducible minimum of Democratic votes was reached, or approached, in 1940.

Since 1940 the Democrats, as a party, have not fared very well in Missouri. Much of their ill-luck is attributed to the attempt by the St. Louis Democratic organization, headed by Chairman Hannegan, to steal the Governorship that year. The Democratic nominee, strictly an organization man, was defeated, though the rest of the ticket won. The vote was close. So a Democratic-controlled legislature, responding to the wishes of the St. Louis bosses, tried to nullify the election of the Republican candidate by a bit of trickery. The liberal St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and the equally liberal St. Louis *Star-Times* crusaded against such action. The citizenry was aroused. The attempted steal was thwarted finally by a Democratic state Supreme Court which unanimously re-

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jected the political trick of a Democratic-controlled legislature.

The following year the St. Louis bosses lost control of the City Hall. In 1942 a Republican legislature was elected. The Republican nominee won the only statewide office at issue that year. Republican nominees have won all special elections held since 1940.

The Missouri electorate shuddered when Robert E. Hannegan, chairman of the repudiated St. Louis Democratic City Central Committee, was advanced to the national chairmanship of his party. It shuddered again when Senator Harry S. Truman was nominated for the Vice-Presidency. The evils of the Kansas City Pendergast machine, which gave Truman his political start, were still fresh in its memory. In fact, when the Senator won reelection in 1940 by a majority of 54,399 votes, his running-mates, with the exception of the defeated candidate for Governor, won by majorities exceeding 100,000. It is said that Senator Truman has gained new respect through his chairmanship of the committee investigating the conduct of the war. That may be so, but since his standing in 1940 was some 30,000 votes below that of President Roosevelt and some 50,000 votes below that of most other Democratic nominees, it is difficult to see how his candidacy can add anything to the President's strength in Missouri.

Another factor must be considered. Missouri has had a Republican Governor since 1940. That means that both in the state and in the St. Louis City Hall a payroll machine is now functioning in behalf of the Republican Presidential nominee. In 1940 the Democrats had that advantage.

It is only because of the imponderables arising from the war that Missouri belongs in the doubtful category. Its irreducible Democratic strength may be large enough to bring a fourth-term victory if there is any considerable potency in the commander-in-chief argument. That is where Missouri differs from neighboring Kansas. In Kansas the irreducible Republican vote is undoubtedly larger than the irreducible Democratic vote. In Missouri the political benefits of the commander-in-chief role would have to be, for example, but 25,000 or so votes to give the state's fifteen electoral votes to Roosevelt. In Kansas the increment from the commander-in-chief role would be insufficient for victory unless it exceeded 75,000 votes.

Having stated that none should try to predict the outcome of the election I shall now do so, fully aware of the many opportunities for error. I believe that in Missouri the commander-in-chief role will be sufficient, despite many contrary influences, to carry President Roosevelt through to another victory; in Kansas it will not be strong enough to take the state's nine electoral votes out of the Republican column into which they found their way in 1940.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

CODE BY CODE, the NRA has brought together industries for "self-government" on a vertical basis. It becomes all the more imperative, therefore, that the A. F. of L. should free itself from ancient subservience to craft concepts and begin to transform itself on industrial lines. Only thus can organized labor, unskilled standing side by side with skilled, make common cause against organized capital. This is the basic issue with which the A. F. of L. convention of 1934 must reckon.—*October 3, 1934.*

THE SUDDEN RESIGNATION of the Samper Cabinet on October 1 leaves the Spanish Republic confronted by the gravest crisis of its history. . . . It is doubtful whether President Alcalá-Zamora can form any government which can command general support. Yet failure means that civil war is inevitable.—*October 10, 1934.*

WITHIN THE BOUNDS of its immediate objective the TVA looms impressively. . . . The whole region affected directly or indirectly by the TVA can rejoice over a voluntary reduction in recent months of power rates by private utility companies amounting to $16,000,000 a year. . . . The reduction in five years will equal the sum already allocated to the TVA.—RAYMOND GRAM SWING, *October 10, 1934.*

SHORT OF AN OUTBREAK of actual hostilities, no news from the Far East could be more disquieting than the recent appearance of an official pamphlet, published and widely circulated by the Japanese army, urging a vast increase in armaments together with a drastic reorganization of the nation's economic structure. . . . It is possible that the appearance of the pamphlet may indicate that the reactionary elements at last feel themselves strong enough to challenge the bourgeois-parliamentary system which they have so long denounced. Should this be true, the danger to the outside world can scarcely be overstated.—*October 17, 1934.*

ESCAPE from the bughouse of so-called civilization! CONTACTS, correspondence club for the mentally marooned, connects you with over 1,100 members who are debunked of most of the pretty fables morons are fed. Unusual books loaned. Send 3c stamp. (ADVT.).—*October 17, 1934.*

PERHAPS THE MOST NAIVE of the many panaceas which are being brought forward as solutions of our economic difficulties is the old-age pension scheme devised by Dr. F. E. Townsend of that most remarkable of states—California. —*October 24, 1934.*

IF THE OPPONENTS of Upton Sinclair have left any stone unturned to prevent him from becoming Governor of California, we have not heard about it. . . . The Republican Attorney General has instigated actions in Los Angeles County to strike from the registration rolls 100,000 or more names, most of them from downtown working-class districts. The burden of proof rests upon the registrants, and it is physically impossible to hear anything like 100,000 cases before election day.—*October 31, 1934.*

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The Negro Waits to See

BY WALTER WHITE

AS NOVEMBER approaches, the Presidential race seems to be too close for partisans of either side to take comfort. For a variety of reasons, internal and external, no racial or economic bloc in this year's elections is more undecided, nor does any group have a better chance to swing a reasonably close election, than the Negroes. They do not want to be a racial bloc; they would prefer to vote as citizens, as individuals. But the Negro has been forced to think and to vote racially by the discriminations to which he is subject, by the coalition of Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats in Congress, and by the new awareness of race which the war has created throughout the world. The political lynching of Wendell Willkie by the Old Guard Republicans and of Henry Wallace by the equally Old Guard Democrats was fought more consistently and is resented more deeply by the Negroes than by any other group of voters.

But let no one believe that the mass of Negro voters are thinking in terms of "a plague on both your houses." They are not talking about going fishing on Election Day. The Associated Press prediction of a sharp slump in the number of votes this year does not apply to Negro voters—except those in the armed services, who, because of the connivance of Republicans with Southern Democrats, will not be able to vote. The Negro has been too deeply stirred by continued discrimination in the midst of a war for human freedom and is too apprehensive about the post-war situation to stay home on Election Day. He will vote, and with certain concrete aims in mind.

Negroes don't expect too much from either party. They know that whatever they get they will have to fight for. They know also that their chances of success depend in considerable measure on general social and economic progress. These considerations will influence their votes next month.

They want full political equality—the same right to vote as white men, the right to run for elective offices and to be considered for appointive offices.

They want full civil equality—equal access to the protection of the law, and an end to Jim Crow in transportation, hotels, restaurants, recreation and entertainment, and all public facilities. They want an end to restrictive housing covenants—this could be made a condition of federal financial assistance—and they don't want any so-called "equal but separate" accommodations; separate accommodations are by that very fact unequal.

They want full equality of educational opportunity—access to the same schools, and equal pay for Negro teachers at all levels.

They want full equality of employment opportunity—the all too familiar spectacle of the Negro college graduate working as a messenger boy or a dishwasher must go. This is a responsibility of management and of organized labor as well as of government.

Negroes know that federal action is essential in all these fields. They know that the states have demonstrated their inability or unwillingness to take effective action. They know too that the modern technique of those who don't want a thing done is not to say they are against it but to say, "Let the states do it."

Some progress has been made since 1940. It has been due almost entirely to pressure by the Negroes themselves, and it has strengthened their determination to continue the fight. The Supreme Court decision in the case of *Smith* v. *Allbright* has opened the Texas and Arkansas ballot boxes to Negroes in primary and general elections and has promised an end of disfranchisement throughout the South within two years. It has enormously stimulated political consciousness and a sense of political power among Negroes in seventeen Northern and border states which together have 280 electoral votes. If Negroes vote *en bloc* they can determine the choice of President and Vice-President, Senators and Representatives, in almost 150 Congressional districts.

Against terrible odds, in the face of the prejudices of many employers and even of some unions, the Negro has battled his way into industry. Mass action brought the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices into being, and mass pressure has had to be exerted continuously to prevent sabotage of that agency. Riots and anti-Negro strikes in Detroit and Philadelphia and Lockland, Ohio, have embittered but not discouraged the Negro in his fight for a job. They have strengthened his resolution, because he knows that after "the war for democracy" is won he will have to face more determined opposition than ever in many areas of the United States. He knows that the crude diatribes of the Rankins and the Hoffmans alike are designed to recruit members for anti-Negro, anti-labor outfits like the Ku Klux Klan.

Negro voters are embittered by the continued humiliation, physical violence, and death visited upon Negro soldiers in the South; by the blunt refusal of the Department of Justice to act in cases like that of Private Edward Green, who was killed by a bus driver in Alexandria, Louisiana, on March 19. The War Department declared that "considering the testimony of all the witnesses and the circumstances surrounding the case, the conclusion is inescapable that there was no justification,

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moral or legal, for the slaying of Private Edward Green by Odell Lanchette." But the Department of Justice has failed to take steps against the criminal, who is still at large. Its inaction will cost Roosevelt votes, particularly among mothers and wives of Negro service men. The Green case was front-page news in the Negro press all over the country.

The manner in which the Administration handled the Philadelphia transit strike against the upgrading of eight Negroes was encouraging at the outset, but the result was disappointing. The army did an excellent job, just as it did in the Detroit riots last year. Negroes all over the country were watching to see if the Administration would duck the issue and thereby define unmistakably the conditions of post-war employment for Negroes. When the Attorney General ordered a federal grand jury to investigate, the Negroes were jubilant, for they were certain that once the sinister anti-union forces behind the strike were revealed, America would have a lesson in the facts of industrial life. The jury upheld the Negroes' right to work on the same terms as white men, but its unjust denunciation of the C. I. O., which had opposed the strike, its ignoring of the fact that the strike was called by former leaders of a company union, and its whitewashing of the company, which had encouraged the strikers, destroyed most of the value of the lesson.

The Administration made another forward step when it ordered an end to Jim Crow in army camps, but the order is unenforced in many Southern camps.

The G. O. P. platform offers little more to the thoughtful Negro voter, even if its promises are taken at face value. He regards with deep skepticism the Republican proposal to abolish the poll tax by constitutional amendment. Negro voters know that the tax will never be abolished if it must wait for a two-thirds' vote in each house of Congress and ratification by three-fourths of the forty-eight state legislatures. The Republicans' unqualified approval of legislation to make the FEPC a permanent government agency was heartening until they inserted another plank which promised to give control of employment services to the states. That, followed by the G. O. P. vote for the George bill to vest control of unemployment compensation in the states, has led intelligent Negroes to believe that the growing trend toward "states' rights" would make a permanent FEPC practically impotent.

This suspicion was strengthened by an episode at the Governors' conference in St. Louis. It was reported that Mr. Dewey had placed high on the agenda a proposal that the twenty-six Republican Governors not only indorse the G. O. P. plank for a constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax but pledge a special session of their legislatures to ratify the amendment. I sent Mr. Dewey a telegram saying that no one believed the poll tax could be eliminated in any reasonable period of time by a constitutional amendment; that the child-labor amendment had been approved by Congress twenty-two years ago but that to date only twenty-eight state legislatures had ratified it. I suggested that the Governors might more wisely and profitably indorse the bill passed by the House of Representatives, which, despite a filibuster, was still pending in the Senate, and that they might also vigorously call for cloture on the debate. Well, when the poll-tax item on the agenda was reached, the Presidential candidate hurriedly passed it by, saying that it was unimportant and could be taken up later. It was apparent that Mr. Dewey feared to repudiate his party's platform openly, but also feared to do anything that might actually abolish one of the means by which the Republicans' Southern allies maintain themselves in power.

The Electoral College conspiracy in the South has fizzled; the 1944 election will be determined by the popular vote of the sixteen Northern and border states, which have 280 electoral votes. In those states the Negro vote is most concentrated, amounting to a potential balance of power. Those states are New York, which according to the 1940 census had 393,056 Negroes of voting age; Pennsylvania, 299,998; Illinois, 263,426; Ohio, 220,164; Maryland, 183,716; Missouri, 164,605; New Jersey, 143,661; Michigan, 138,116; Kentucky, 138,001; Oklahoma, 97,137; California, 90,407; Indiana, 80,451; West Virginia, 70,094; Kansas, 39,381; Delaware, 22,893; Connecticut, 20,704. In almost every one of these states the Negro voting population has been greatly increased since 1940 by war-time migration. Ten states with 214 electoral votes, according to late August polls, are still politically doubtful—New York, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and New Jersey. If the Negroes in those states vote as a bloc, they can decide the outcome of the election.

At this writing no person can accurately or even honestly predict whether the Negroes will vote as a bloc or not, or, if they do vote as a bloc, which side they will be on. The Negro has little faith in either party. He remembers the Roosevelt of the thirties, but he also knows that the Roosevelt of the mid-forties sold Henry Wallace down the river to the reactionaries of his own party and of the country. The Negro has even less faith in the party that chose a Dewey when it could have had a Willkie. He therefore waits to see whether either party, between now and November 7, will do something honest and effective about the poll tax, lynching, a permanent FEPC, social security, public housing, federal aid to education, and federal legislation to protect men in uniform from mob attack; and whether either party will do anything toward obtaining a peace that will recognize the colored peoples of the world as human beings.

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Grassroots Candidate

BY SELDEN C. MENEFEE

JOSIAH W. GITT, liberal editor of the *Gazette and Daily* of York, Pennsylvania, has better than an even chance of becoming a member of the Seventy-ninth Congress. If he does, he will get into the thick of two battles—the battle for a peace that will be more than a breathing spell before the next war, and the battle to expand the domestic economy to meet the demands of the post-war world.

All his adult life Jess Gitt has been fighting for causes and compromising with no one. His candidacy for Congress will show whether the people of his community are interested in the common welfare or merely in their own selfish aims. He is willing to be the guinea pig in an effort to find out what they really want. Gitt says he isn't a "good" candidate. He says, "The trouble with me is that I've stood for something all my life. And that's a handicap."

The Twenty-first Congressional District of Pennsylvania is represented at present by a demagogue bearing the Republican label. Chester H. Gross won his seat in Congress in 1942 by exploiting all the little inconveniences of the people in the early days of the war. He inveighed against rationing. He made the farmers believe that their inability to get sugar for apple butter was an important issue. He told the farmers they were being discriminated against in Selective Service. He pitied them for the way the government was persecuting them in order to favor other groups. Labor stayed away from the polls in 1942, and Gross won the election by less than 100 votes.

In Congress Gross has had an almost perfect record of reaction. His speeches and his conduct on the floor are somewhat like Clare Hoffman's. But he has the support, if not the respect, of some of the leading business interests in his district because they know he can be depended on when they need his vote.

York, with its 60,000 people, is the largest city of the most populous county in the tri-county Twenty-first District. The lively and crusading *Gazette and Daily* has had much to do with turning a conservative Pennsylvania Dutch community into an island of liberalism in reaction-ridden Republican Pennsylvania. Gitt's stubborn resolve to "Print the truth and let it speak" has made his paper hated and loved, feared and respected. Labor gets a fair break in the news columns. The editorial columns are sympathetic with labor but not sentimental. Farmers get a fair break, too—they account for 14,000 of the *Gazette and Daily's* 27,000 circulation—but they aren't coddled, or encouraged to believe that the government should lift price restrictions for their benefit even if everyone else suffers. Gitt lets the advertisers in his paper know definitely that the only space for sale in his paper is in the advertising columns. He is immune to attempts to bludgeon publicity for special interests and to all efforts to suppress the news.

On first meeting Gitt, one is reminded of the late William Allen White, long the liberal editor of the Emporia *Gazette*. But Gitt soon dispels the illusion of similarity and brings out the contrast. White's liberalism always turned to Republicanism at election time. Gitt keeps fighting on the liberal side right to the last gong. Whereas William Allen White reflected the moderate pace of his community in his newspaper and gained national recognition through his other activities, Gitt seeks to discover the national need and bring it home to his readers. As a result he is often in the position of pushing his community, much to the disgust of the local tycoons, who want to keep their grip on the status quo.

White was a first-rate showman, presenting himself as a colorful figure, a Republican fighting for liberal ideas. Gitt is as shy and diffident as George Norris was, and like Norris is always found in the midst of a fight for the common good, his sense of public responsibility lashing his personal predilections. But Gitt's Pennsylvania Dutch community is an oasis of liberalism, while White's Emporia is still an example of what's the matter with Kansas.

On the golf courses of the Middle Atlantic states Jess Gitt is regarded as one of the toughest tournament players, still shooting in the low 70's in spite of his age. Afield with naturalists, he qualifies as an expert on trees. In his spacious library he has the air of a moderately well-to-do college professor. The titles of the books that line his shelves give a cue to the character of the man and his newspaper. History, economics, sociology, international affairs, politics, and law predominate. He buys books to read them.

Carrying his scholarship to the editorial columns of his newspaper, he keeps up a drumfire of comment on public affairs with the purpose of making people realize that the world is not a self-running institution but a complex affair that calls for intelligence, courage, and selflessness from the little people as well as from the leaders. He flanks his own opinions with the best of the liberal columnists.

When I first met Jess Gitt, he remarked casually,

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"My ambition is to run the freest newspaper in the country." He has just about accomplished this. He sits on the board of the York Corporation, largest producer of air-conditioning equipment in the country. But that didn't prevent the paper from publishing facts unfavorable to the corporation. And when Gitt himself violated a traffic ordinance during a drive to improve traffic conditions, his city editor drew only praise from him for publishing a picture of Gitt's car parked at a rakish angle in downtown traffic.

On public issues, domestic and international, the *Gazette and Daily* has almost invariably been on the right side. During the Spanish war Gitt saw fascist aggression threatening the world: "Armageddon for democracy in this world is the battlefield of bleeding Spain, and those who help to destroy the Loyalist government are sowing the seeds of the destruction of the democratic way of life." All through the pre-war turmoil in Europe he declared that fascism was a force with which democrats could not temporize. He decried Munich as a sell-out. He had nothing but scorn for our deals with Giraud and Darlan. He condemned the Badoglio fiasco. Yet he is a vigorous supporter of the Roosevelt Administration and especially of Secretary of State Hull, whose long liberal career in Congress won his admiration.

Big business and its practices have called forth his outraged denunciations. The Dies committee was anathema to him. Every liberal cause finds the editor of the *Gazette and Daily* in there swinging on the side of the people. He was a New Dealer before there was a New Deal. He is going beyond the New Deal today because he sees that the only way to keep the economic system functioning is to create abundance for all.

All his life he has shunned a political career. But today, at sixty, shy, retiring Jess Gitt is running for Congress. He believes the most crucial struggle in our history is taking place in Washington. Early this year he urged the Democratic leaders to select a young candidate of outstanding ability and fighting spirit. He offered such a candidate the unstinting support of his newspaper. The leaders searched and conferred. Then they spent two weeks persuading Gitt that he was the man to make the race. His sense of public responsibility finally forced him into a fight he would rather have had someone else make.

When he announced his candidacy, one of York's leading industrialists remarked, "That's the greatest thing that has happened in York County politics in my lifetime." Other industrialists, however, aren't so sure, and they have already made deals with some of the crooked Democratic ward leaders whom Gitt has fought all his life. A leading merchant, for the first time in his life interested in politics, is buttonholing other business men to get behind a candidate "who knows what the score is and has the courage to do something about it." Before there was a C. I. O. Political Action Committee in Pennsylvania a group of workers formed a committee to support Gitt. Farmers in the district, though angered by his editorials arguing for ceiling prices and rationing, have been swinging to him.

At one large gathering of farmers in the most rock-ribbed Republican section of his district, Gitt stood up and said that the surest way for farmers to ruin themselves and the country was to think only of their own selfish interests. On leaving the gathering, he grimly stuck out his jaw and said, "I'd rather be licked than lead anybody to believe that he hasn't a part in trying to make this democracy work. If they can't give something now to save themselves, then I don't belong in Congress."

The November election will show whether the fact that Jess Gitt has "stood for something" all his life will be a handicap to him in his attempt to win the opportunity to stand for the nation's future in the halls of Congress.

Polls, Propaganda, Politics

It Looks Like F. D. R.

ELECTION figures in this country show a definite cycle. The Democrats reached a peak with Cleveland's election in 1892 and came steadily down to a low in 1904 against Theodore Roosevelt. Then the accumulated frustrations which are projected against the government brought about a rising demand for change, and the Democrats reached another peak with the election of Wilson in 1912. The last cycle culminated in the anti-Landon landslide of 1936, and since then the curve of Democratic votes has been downward. (This ebb and flow of political sentiment has been carefully studied by Louis H. Bean.) The moot point now is: Will the cyclic demand for change carry the Democrats down below the point of victory, or will the war prolong their decline for four more years?

The polls of today can be better understood if viewed against this long-term swing. There are sixteen different patterns which the vote of a state in the past four elections might have followed. But owing to these cyclical changes only five types of voting behavior were actually noted:

Type I: D D D D. These states voted Democratic all four times.

Type II: R D D D. These states followed the trend in the nation as a whole.

Type III: R R D D. These states lagged behind the nation and went Democratic one election later.

Type IV: R D D R. These states cut the cycle short, and returned to a Republican majority ahead of the nation as a whole.

Type V: R R R R. The constantly Republican states.

Type I (D D D D) includes Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Rhode Island, and

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South Carolina. In Gallup's September surveys these all show a Democratic majority, and their seventy-nine electoral votes may be regarded as safe for Roosevelt.

Type II (R D D D) is the largest group and will be discussed in several subdivisions. First come the delinquent Southern states. They really should have been Type I, but, a little out at the edge of the Deep South, they went Republican in 1928, mainly because of Rum and Al Smith. They include Florida, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Still more peripheral are Arizona and New Mexico on the west and Maryland and West Virginia on the north. These states are normally Democratic, but in times of special Republican strength they swing across the line. Present indications from polls are that the reaction has not yet gone far enough to carry any of them outside the Democratic fold, and their 103 electoral votes will go to Roosevelt in November.

Other sub-groups of Type II show a different set of influences and will be discussed later.

How are we to interpret the election behavior of the four states in Type III (R R D D)—Connecticut, Delaware, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania?

They didn't get on the New Deal band-wagon until 1936, and only obtained a firm seat in 1940, after Midwestern states had begun to desert. Perhaps we should expect them to hold on for one more election before they succumb to the Republican drift. The latest poll data support this expectation. Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and Delaware were rated 51 to 52 per cent for Roosevelt in September, and Connecticut was reported 50-50. But a New York *Times* article by James A. Hagerty (October 10, 1944) reports as the neutral expectation a Roosevelt plurality of 20,000 to 25,000 votes in Connecticut. One factor which might upset this estimate would be a strong Socialist vote. The Socialists in Connecticut are running a full state ticket, headed by Norman Thomas for President and Jasper McLevy for Governor. If this ticket gets anything like the 166,000 votes McLevy obtained in 1938, it may draw away enough votes from Roosevelt to defeat him in 1944, as Governor Wilbur L. Cross (Dem.) was defeated in 1938. In considering Pennsylvania, we regret that no poll has been made to test the influence of John L. Lewis upon the votes of the miners. If Connecticut and Pennsylvania stay Democratic along with the other R R D D's, 50 electoral votes would be added to the 182 that are surely Democratic.

It is not difficult to predict the vote in states of Type IV (R D D R)—Iowa, Michigan, Indiana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and Colorado. They yielded only at the high point of the Democratic tide, and four years ago they returned to their traditional Republicanism. The eight of them will, in all probability, give Dewey their seventy electoral votes. They are the high-pressure Republican area on the political weather map of the nation.

Maine and Vermont, the two states in Type V (R R R R), will of course go Republican, adding eight electoral votes.

But now back to the states in Type II whose vote has not as yet been analyzed. Sub-group (a), consisting of some Southern and border states, has been discussed. Sub-group (b) contains six Far Western states which, because of greater urbanization, strong labor organization, keen concern with international affairs, and distance from the Republican centers of strength, are likely to stay Democratic despite the general trend. These are California, Montana, Nevada, Utah, Oregon, and Washington, with fifty electoral votes. In Gallup's September polls all of them were predominantly for Roosevelt. This was before Dewey's speeches on the coast; later reports will be watched with great interest.

Around the core of Midwestern Republicanism (Type IV states) lie three border groups which make up sub-group (c). Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Ohio are close neighbors to the states that returned to the Republican camp in 1940, and are likely to follow along now. Out on the western border of the Republican stronghold lie Wyoming and Idaho, now ready to join the Great Plains bloc for Dewey. As the return to Republicanism diffuses, we may expect to see these six border states add their eighty-three votes to the G. O. P. total. It is possible, of course, that the power of the Democratic machine in Cook County, which has already brought out a record-breaking registration, may hold Illinois back, but September polls show Dewey still leading (53 per cent). In Minnesota criticism of Dewey by a leading Republican, Senator Ball, may reduce the slight G. O. P. lead (52 per cent). But the historical-geographic situation leads us to expect these border states to follow the Republican trend.

The border states south of the Republican center are more difficult to predict. Missouri and Oklahoma border on Kansas, but they also touch Arkansas and other states of the solid South. Perhaps Truman may swing Missouri, but the latest polls show a 50-50 balance. The twenty-five electoral votes from these two states must be regarded as doubtful.

There remain New York and New Jersey, sub-group (d), with sixty-three electoral votes. Polls show both very close to the 50-50 line. In both, powerful Democratic machines have lost some hold, and Roosevelt is a little less popular with Negro voters than he was in 1940. In both, however, interest in international affairs seems strong, and in both the P. A. C. is active. For the present both must be regarded as doubtful.

Against this background the events of the closing weeks of the campaign can be interpreted. Our analysis has used two main principles—the historical *political cycle* and the concept of *diffusion*. These two lead to a prediction for each state which is in surprising agreement with current polls. All available evidence is combined to make the picture shown in the following table. The successful candidate must win 266 electoral votes.

	NUMBER OF ELECTORAL VOTES		
	Republican	*Democratic*	*Unpredictable*
Type I D D D D		79	
Type II R D D D			
(a) "Delinquent" South		103	
(b) Far West		50	
(c) Republican border	82		25
(d) N. Y. and N. J.			63
Type III R R D D		50	
Type IV R D D R	70		
Type V R R R R	8		
	161	282	88

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A Policy for Argentina

BY WALDO FRANK

IF WE can bring ourselves to understand them, we may yet be thankful for the grave conditions in Argentina. What has happened there and our methods of coping with it provide lessons for our future.

The counter-revolution in Argentina is not new. It dates from 1930, when the rich landowners and their lawyers, supported by the army, overthrew the failing old President Irigoyen, whose Radical Party threatened to break up the big estates, opened farmlands to immigrants, nationalized oil, encouraged home manufactures and trade unions. For fourteen years, during which no President was constitutionally elected, we recognized the government. We were following what became known as the Estrada Doctrine—formulated by Mexico's genial Foreign Minister, Genaro Estrada—which calls for the automatic recognition of de facto American administrations. In the first years of this war, when the Allies were fighting with their backs to the wall, when the United States needed all the raw goods it could get from Latin America, when the Germans still largely ran the South American airlines, and when there was real danger of a thrust from Dakar to the Amazon and the Canal, the Estrada Doctrine served us well. It justified us, despite our professed democratic motives, in dealing with the dictators of Peru, Paraguay, Central America, and Brazil.

But in Argentina the Estrada Doctrine served us at least as well. The submarines were a menace to our shipping; and Buenos Aires became the center of the whole continent's network of Nazi-Falange-Japanese espionage. Our relations with Argentina enabled us to keep in touch with what our enemies were plotting and to restrain them; it strengthened the hands of the democratic masses and their leaders; even more important, it impressed Latin America with our sincerity in refraining from political force at a time of national crisis.

The change for the worse in Argentina from 1930 to 1944 came about through a shift of power within the ruling minorities, a shift which may recur more than once in the post-war world policed by mechanized armies. In place of the landowners—who correspond in Argentine economy to our industrialists—the generals took over. The immediate cause of the shift was that the Castillo regime had failed to stem the rising tide of liberalism in the masses. The generals succeeded for a variety of reasons. Argentine labor is poorly organized; the petty bourgeoisie of Buenos Aires is comfortable and chauvinistic; the church, as usual, defends the economic status quo, which it glorifies with words like "national honor" and "national order." The foreign subversive groups, Nazis and disciples of Franco, although they can do little alone, ably second the domestic elements of reaction.

Our departure at this moment from the Estrada Doctrine has done us no good, and has helped the forces we are supposed to be fighting. We are no longer in the field to observe and counter-attack. We have failed and will fail to align the British in a real economic embargo which might unseat the wealthy and middle classes. Such an overthrow might bring about in Argentina the kind of social revolution which the ruling groups in Britain fear in Italy, France, and Germany. The reactionaries in Argentina know this: that is one reason why, although they deplore the "bad taste" of the generals, they now support them. They look forward to the day when we may be thankful to them for providing a bulwark against social revolution in every part of Latin America where we have capital invested.

Thus our hostility to Argentina has made a martyr of the nationalist government, has drawn sentimental neutrals to its side as against "Yankee interference"—and has discouraged the liberals. To them it means that the United States may be reverting to old methods of political pressure for its own ends, and they have plenty of good reasons to doubt that these ends are entirely democratic. They know that we continue to be on very good terms indeed with equally undemocratic governments among Argentina's neighbors—not to mention Franco's Spain. Fear and jealousy of the United States form a shrewd weapon in the hands of Latin American reaction from Mexico southward. We have now refurbished and restored it, against the disarmed Argentine people.

II

Within the nascent Latin American world there is a dangerous jockeying for power. Brazil has formed a loose axis with Mexico and Chile, and by its alliance with the winning Allies it holds the cards against Argentina. But this harmony with us will not outlast self-interest. In the post-war world—unless we speedily do better than is promised by Dumbarton Oaks—the United States will be merely one of several huge world combinations, all struggling for influence in Latin America, the richest remaining prize in the whole world. Great Britain will set out for fresh gains from its vantage-point in Argentina, Spain and France—especially if they emerge as democracies more progressive than ourselves—will work from their strong cultural ties. The Soviet Union will be

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a great magnet, not only because of its economic power but through the popularity of its racial freedom. Whoever controls Africa will be closer to Brazil and Argentina than we are. If we attempt to control its South American approaches, Brazil and Argentina will solidify against us.

Brazil is potentially a first-class power. It is growing rapidly in population; its resources are even greater than our own; it is equally ambitious and at least equally endowed with diplomatic genius. If improved technics of communication and production bring its deeply democratic people to political maturity—which may happen as soon as it does in Russia—Brazil may express its hostility to a country whose treatment of the Negro is a direct insult to half its population.

Brazil has been with us in this war because of trade advantages which will dwindle as it develops its resources and scraps its coffee economy; because it needed us to develop these resources (among others, steel); because we could help it snatch the continental leadership from Argentina; and most of all because the people, passionately anti-fascist, forced the hand of President Vargas. All excellent reasons—and all temporary. We were right to cooperate with Vargas; we were wrong to discourage Brazil's liberals by our sickening praise of Vargas. Vargas did not go along with us because of our Ambassador Jefferson Caffery, a man wholly out of touch with the people of both Brazil and his own country. But the presence of Caffery in Rio did help the progressives of Brazil to distrust the fine words of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull.

If, as Brazil grows industrially great, it should become imperialistic, it would challenge us or we should be forced to challenge it. And all the Latin American peoples will remember our fulsome support of Vargas. If, as seems more likely, Brazil outgrows the Vargas phase, our present record there and in Peru will stand against us. Brazil's new democratic leaders then will turn with far more confidence toward a possibly more democratic Europe, toward the Soviets, and by contact with similar popular movements in Argentina, Peru, Chile, Uruguay, *et al.*, form a defensive bloc against us.

III

The problem of inter-American relations is enormously complex because of the vast differences, ethnic, cultural, politico-economic, between the countries. To discuss it briefly without oversimplification is almost hopeless; nor is one helped by the stubborn ignorance of even the more enlightened groups in the United States. Nevertheless, certain over-all recommendations may and must be made. First of all, we must get over the idea that our chief enemy anywhere in Latin America is German, or Spanish, or any foreign fascism. The principal dangers are economic and cultural—and the two go together. So long as Latin America suffers from an economy of exploitation and our own trends of cultural ignorance and racial arrogance continue, political programs and conferences for hemisphere solidarity will be inflammable as paper.

The nub of our good relations with Latin America must be:

1. We must move toward economic and racial democracy, *at home.*

2. So long as we do not, so long as our present trend of collectivization of wealth without democratic control continues, we should adhere strictly to the Estrada Doctrine. It is the one safe way at present, when our good faith is justifiably in doubt, of not playing favorites through political pressure.

3. The Estrada Doctrine should be broadened to the economic field. Every time our Import-Export Bank, for instance, loans money to a Latin American government, it is favoring it; and if the government is anti-democratic, we are working against its people. To avoid the odium of interference, economic help should therefore be placed on a strict quota basis among the several countries. Economic sanctions against a bad government, such as are proposed against Argentina, should be voted on by a Congress of American Foreign Ministers, which should assemble each year. Even when it approves, the final decision should be passed on by whatever world body is functioning; so that the sanction may be universal.

4. Meanwhile, we can proceed in other ways to prepare *ourselves* for good hemisphere relations. We should have a college for the consular and diplomatic services in Latin America. Its training should lay as much emphasis on ethnography and Latin American cultures as on economics.

5. Democracy goes deeper than economics. It pertains not only to all men and races but to the whole man; and this is the field of culture. If we take seriously the dream of the Western Hemisphere as a New World of free men, we should begin to prove it in our schools. The study of a second American language, Spanish or Portuguese, should be compulsory. The study of the American pre-cultures—Mexican, Andean, African, and Hispanic—should have as strong a place in our curriculum as Greek and Roman history. By these means real contacts would be created for understanding, mutual nourishment, and collaboration.

6. Only as we move toward economic democracy at home shall we be able to help the Latin Americans along the same road. *We should offer them the means and the chance to buy back their natural resources.* American big business and the cartels won't approve. But it will mean good business for the American people as a whole, whose trade will enormously increase as Latin America's standard of living rises.

7. As an immediate first step we must send an ambassador to Buenos Aires. The new envoy should be a liberal of the highest record and a profound student of

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Latin American culture, a man who can communicate with the Argentines in inter-American terms. Such a man, in the cultural capital of Spanish-speaking South America, would be worth far more to the cause of inter-American relations than even successful sanctions, which might unseat a dictator without touching the causes of his rise, or than our present short-sighted policy of playing one state against another.

[*In an early issue we shall publish an article by an Argentine anti-fascist whose views on the subject of American policy, differing sharply from those of Waldo Frank, are closer to our own.*]

Behind the Enemy Line

By ARGUS

THE latest slogan coined by the Berlin Propaganda Ministry is a variation of the Roosevelt and Churchill formula. It calls on the people for "unconditional resistance." One of the Ministry's under secretaries first used the phrase at a mass-meeting on September 24. Goebbels's organ, *Das Reich*, has also used a variation of the unfortunate Paul Reynaud's words. It said on September 17:

> It is strange that we Germans are always called fools when we believe in miracles. The French speak of the miracle of the Marne in 1914, the Poles of the miracle of the Vistula in 1920, the Russians of the miracle of Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad. Actually these were not miracles but the results of a tremendous moral and organizational regeneration. Why should not we too have our miracles, we who are Europe's incalculable nation?

Pages could be filled each week with the measures which are expected to contribute to the miraculous success of "unconditional resistance." They represent a desperate scraping together of the last odds and ends of man-power and materials. A typical announcement proclaims: "Repair of watches and clocks or parts thereof is from now on prohibited without a special permit" (*Völkischer Beobachter*, September 21). Another runs: "Any person surrendering five kilos [eleven pounds] of waste paper can demand a voucher entitling him to buy five sheets of writing paper with envelopes" (*Dagens Nyheter*, Stockholm, September 13).

An indication of what is going on meanwhile in people's heads is provided by the brand-new propaganda campaigns that have been launched. One is directed against the fear that a famine is unavoidable. An article in the *Völkische Beobachter* of September 19 says:

> Lately many consumers have been asking about the prospects for our food supply now that we have relinquished territory in the east and in the west and that grain no longer comes in from Southeastern Europe. The answer is that the loss of these sources of supply will not affect our amount of food as much as is sometimes assumed. . . . However, it is true that in the future we must get along without some supplementary supplies which have given us up to now a certain amount of economic elbow room.

Then suddenly, all over the Reich, there was a cloudburst of articles occasioned obviously by the frequent question: Why do we hear nothing from Hitler? Why does he make no more speeches when he used to make so many? Said the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* on September 23:

> To our mind nobody needs to interpret the Führer's silence. Hitler's speeches have always been of great significance. His silence has even greater weight. It has lasted for months now and has become a matter of grave concern to our enemies. They would give a great deal for a word from him. But his lips are sealed. This is indeed a heavy burden for the enemy, although it is one for our own nation too.

But the most interesting campaign of recent weeks is that against soldiers who come back from the western front with terrible tales of what they have been through and of how the war is going. "Don't believe them!" shout the newspapers in endless variation. The *National Zeitung* of Essen denounced them on September 13:

> Front-line soldiers have coined the phrase "rear-line braggarts" for this species. We must make a distinction between them and the faithful soldiers. It is no secret that individuals who have deserted from their formations are appearing everywhere now, dejectedly straggling back from the front. Partly by pretending to a knowledge they do not have, partly by treacherously revealing military secrets, they try to give authority to their talk about the hopelessness of our situation.

An increasing amount of space is devoted to condemnation of the "fools and criminals" who say, "For us as individuals defeat will be a matter of indifference." In West German newspapers we find:

> We must be on our guard against people who admire the enemy or who say, "Nothing can happen to me if the enemy wins."

> Nobody should imagine that the enemy will rebuild German towns. Nobody should think that it will help him any to refer to the fact that he formerly belonged to one of the political parties of the Weimar Republic.

Death sentences imposed simply for saying things like this are multiplying. The Vienna edition of the *Völkische Beobachter* for September 16 in its announcement of executions mentioned that of an accountant who in conversation with other employees had uttered the aphorism: "It is better to be a coward for five minutes than to be dead all one's life."

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Poet in Exile

NO ROAD BACK. Poems by Walter Mehring. Translated from the German by S. A. de Witt. Illustrations by George Grosz. English and German Text. Samuel Curl. $2.

THE German poet Mehring lives across the street from the Museum of Natural History in New York. Watching him caper round the museum with the dog of a friend, I was frequently on the point of warning him. Some day one of those hired collectors of natural oddities, a curator looking out of the window and seeing the greatest living Prussian lyricist and one of Berlin's last wits, might well yield to the collecting urge and have poor Mehring put under glass, with the label: "Last free poet of Prussia, natural size, captured in an exiled condition shortly before the doom of Germany."

Such a episode would not be so very unusual in the strange life of this high-strung poet. In his latest book of verse the real and imagined lives of Walter Mehring are set forth in an equally fanciful and authentic way, and the camps and purgatories in which he and other exiled German poets have been exhibited seem like virtual museums of Europe's natural history. Mehring languished also in the concentration camps of *la doulce France*—then still at war with Hitler—only for having loved liberty, told the truth, and fought Hitler; only for having been hounded by the enemies of mankind and having cursed Germany's German subverters in German verse.

These verses, and others like them, Mehring has now published in New York. In the twenty-five poems, chosen and translated by S. A. de Witt, there yawns many a hell from the past decade—the hell of Nazism, the hell of exile, the hell of Vichy, and similar minor hells, besides the main hell of ordinary life. One sky alone stays blue—the sky of Mehring's love.

Today the American Legion is on record for prompt deportation of "the refugees" after the war—not on the laudable ground of restoring them to their homelands, but in order to assure to returning veterans the untold millions of jobs now held by a few thousand foreign fugitives; I wonder which veteran will take over Walter Mehring's job in this country—that of writing some of the finest poetry of our time in the German language?

Mehring was born in Berlin in 1896. His father, Sigmar Mehring, was editor of *Ulk,* a humorous weekly that made fun of all topics within the limits permitted by the Prussian government—for overstepping these bounds in the Dreyfus case the elder Mehring was locked up in a fortress. Besides, he translated French and English poetry, including Walt Whitman's.

At nineteen Walter Mehring was an expressionist and had his poems printed in Herwarth Walden's *Sturm.* His first book of verse, the "Ketzerbrevier," appeared in 1921 (along with books by Heinrich Mann, Werfel, and Kafka) under the imprint of Kurt Wolff, who in his youth was a progressive German publisher and now brings out Catholic authors and tomes on art in New York. Mehring's chansons made him famous in Berlin. He was deemed radical in the Weimar Republic because he rhymed against the "Black Reichswehr" assassins. These polemical rhymes ran in brilliant little magazines, in Carl von Ossietzky's *Weltbühne* and Leopold Schwarzschild's *Tagebuch,* and were recited in brilliant little cabarets like Max Reinhardt's Schall und Rauch: there was a whole school of such witty, radical *chansonniers* who on occasion would read their poems personally in cabarets—Frank Wedekind, Kurt Tucholsky, Bert Brecht, Erich Kästner, Klabund. Mehring's half-Yiddish, half-Berlinese play, "The Merchant of Berlin," was produced there in 1928 by Erwin Piscator. Jews and Nazis appeared on the stage; in the audience Jews laughed and Nazis threw stench bombs. All told, Mehring has published about two dozen books of prose and poetry, and he has also written about modern painting.

From 1921 on he lived alternately in Berlin and Paris. In March, 1933, he fled before the Nazis from Berlin to Paris; in 1938, before the Nazis, from Vienna to Paris; in 1940, before the Nazis, from Paris to Marseilles; in 1941, before the Nazis, from Marseilles to Hollywood; and in 1942, before the Nazi films of Hollywood, to New York.

Mehring is frail, agile in wit and gesture. He smokes and drinks and talks and predicts provocatively, is always full of dark allusions and dire prophecies. Ever hurried, he is ever idle. He never stops training his wit on topical history and all contemporaries, known and unknown; he tells constantly new improbable stories in crass detail, and swears to having personally lived through all of them and through far stranger things. He can hear the grass grow and is an eyewitness to all grotesque occurrences—the high-flown police reporter of German lyric poetry.

Mehring is always complaining, even when he is better off; he has never yet been well off—times are too critical, and Mehring is too astute, to be deceived about them. More than once I have wronged him by refusing to believe his fantastic Job's posts—and he abounds in Job's posts. In Paris he hailed me in front of the Madeleine to whisper that a tree falling out of a clear sky in the Champs Elysées had slain our friend Odon von Horvath. He hailed me beside Danton's statue on the Boulevard St. Germain to whisper that our friend Joseph Roth was dying, bound with ropes, in a hospital. In September, 1939, he came from Deauville into my Trouville hotel room at the crack of dawn to whisper that we had to go straight to the nearest concentration camp at Lisieux—we, the first anti-Nazis, had to go to a French concentration camp because France was at war with the Nazis. Three times I took Mehring's arm and inquired, "Aren't you romancing, dear friend?" But he was right. The modern satirist's trouble is that no one will believe him. Formerly satirists exaggerated reality. A modern satirist can't possibly paint the world as black as it is.

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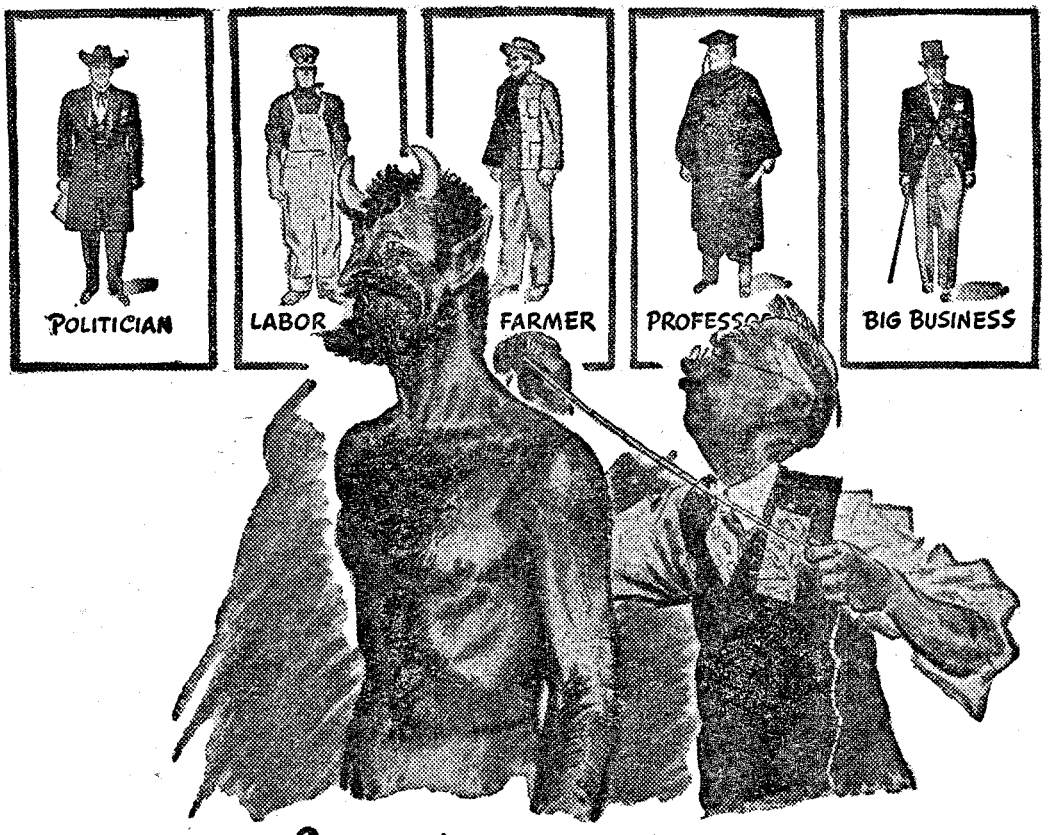

What kind of clothes does the devil wear?

Listen for five minutes in almost any train, bar, living room, or barbershop, when there's a political discussion going on.

You'll hear somebody doing a job on business or labor, on politicians or professors . . . painting them blacker than Beelzebub himself. You can fairly smell the brimstone.

And maybe you'll notice this odd fact, too: *the less the speaker knows about the people he or she is criticizing, the more furious and blistering the comment is apt to be.*

Nobody hates business as much as people who have never worked in business.

Folks who don't bother to vote are the most contemptuous of politicians.

Businessmen who have never read what the professors are really saying are surest that nothing they say makes sense.

And it's usually ladies and gents who never had a labor problem bigger than a cook who see hooves and forked tails sticking out of factory workers' overalls.

If you know a lot of people of all kinds, you aren't likely to hand down these easy black-and-white judgments.

You see (as all of us do when we think about it) that most Americans—businessmen, politicians, farmers, factory workers, professors—are decent, honest citizens, that they have their share of self-interest, but all of them have contributed mightily to the growth and strength and prosperity of America.

In short, no *group* wears the devil's clothes.

But the danger is we may *think* some particular group does—*and insulate ourselves* from all the writings, pronouncements, opinions of any individual in that group.

And thus Americans may deny themselves the help of many intelligent, experienced people at a time when our country needs all the mindpower it can muster.

Problems like today's don't need heat—they need light.

They need light from more than one source . . . more than one newspaper, magazine, or book. They need the pleasant mellow lamp-light of the fellow who agrees with you . . . and the disagreeable blue search-light of the fellow who doesn't.

Most of all, they need the daylight that shines through the clear windows of fact. Facts about our present economic situation in the light of our own past experiences and that of other nations. Facts about the great experiments that have worked and the ones that have failed. Facts about labor and business—about political theory and practice.

Are you getting these facts? Are you being stimulated by the sparks that jump from opposite poles of thinking?

Is your mind a source of light to your friends and your country . . . or of heat?

For instance:

Have you read Eric Johnston's **"Warning to Labor and Management"**? You can get it in bulletin form from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Is Frederick Hayek's **"Road to Serfdom,"** (Chicago University Press, 1944), a part of your information on economics?

Have you looked into Teller and Waring's **"The Small Farmer Looks Ahead,"** published by Harpers?

Or that comprehensive book on labor and its problems, **"The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy"** by Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Ruttenberg (Harpers, 1942)?

TIME believes America's greatest need, now and in the coming years, is for the sovereign people to make up their minds and speak them out.

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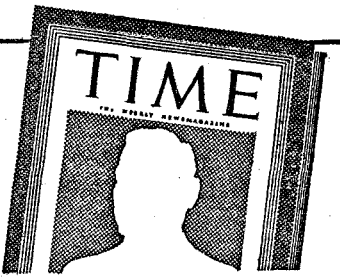
This is the seventh advertisement in a series TIME is publishing to get more Americans thinking about the problems we must face after the war is won. This reminder that the problems of the 1944 presidential election can be solved wisely only if the electorate keeps an open mind, is appearing in more than 40 newspapers and magazines all across the country.



The weekly NEWSMAGAZINE

9 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, NEW YORK 20

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In his poetry Mehring has attempted to do justice to the horrors of the age, and he has succeeded.

The new volume's first and best part is Odyssey Out of Midnight, a love poem in twelve letters and a thousand verses. These are strange love letters; they blend glaring reality with glaring dreams, like those of Breughel or of the German romanticists Arnim and E. Th. A. Hoffmann. In the very first stanza hell is breaking loose—a chiefly political hell. The poet feels gripped by the "Medusa's arms of dark, dank exile"; he gazes upon "the derelict, Culture," and as for the moon:

> The thousandfold procurer's light
> Looks dangerously Trotskyite
> Since lovers hark to dialed shrines,
> To pledge their troth to the party lines—

In these apocalyptic love poems the *chansonnier* Mehring adopts the language of Cassandra and Daniel, the prophets of doom. How divergent are the themes and styles that make up these thousand verses and the other thirteen poems in the volume! They recover rhythms of the minstrelsy of a Hans Sachs—which once before were employed by a greater poet, Goethe, in "Faust."

Mehring mingles the pert insolence of the modern Berlin idiom with the exquisitely pointed artistry of the Provençal poets. He compounds the vernacular and even the soulless false popular oratory of the Nazis with depth and finesse and the heavy and often grandiose pomp of florid, wordy expressionists. His verses teem with allusions and word plays and puns and symbolist figures. The breath of a strong and pitiless rhetoric pervades them. They recall Heine and Villon, Baudelaire, T. S. Eliot, and Swinburne; in happy mixture they yield the original Walter Mehring. This language is untranslatable, at the same time savage and tamed, enraged and precious. It pours hellish loathing into delicately measured, adroitly jarring, artfully polished rhymes. It is baroque lyricism with the most topical characters, curvate and vehement. Mehring is a witty Cassandra.

Because these verses are all but untranslatable, S. A. de Witt has only paraphrased most of them. And with Mehring's words as powerful as those of any living German poet, the English paraphrases seem naturally weaker despite the ardent translator's self-sacrificing, meritorious zeal. George Grosz, the famous American painter who was once the most acid German cartoonist, has contributed several drawings to his old friend's verse.

Except for the "Collected Poems" of the Prague-born Austrian, Franz Werfel, "No Road Back" is the most important volume of German verse written in exile. And as most German poets of rank left the Third Reich and those who stayed have become mute or obtuse, that is to say the best German book of poetry in a decade.

HERMANN KESTEN

Delights and Defects of Experiment

NEW DIRECTIONS 1944—8. New Directions. $3.50.

LIKE its predecessors, the eighth annual anthology of New Directions is full of fun, serious fun as in the newly translated pieces by Lorca, and fun at all costs, as in the lavish and indeed libertine uses of free association in some of the other authors. Mr. Laughlin, an old one at eating his cake and denouncing it too, denounces imperialism in his preface, which is good fun because it illustrates how inexpensive righteous sentiments are, and he invokes the necessity of experimentalism as a literary method, which, in the abstract, one can no more object to than one can object to blank verse or piano-playing, in the abstract.

Most of these authors try hard to be experimental, and they show very well how predictable experimental writing can be. For example, is anything less experimental than the deadly earnest imitation of experimental writing of twenty-five years ago? Some of the poets here echo the idiom and the subject matter Ezra Pound brought forth after the last war, and others are highly involved in imitating their own efforts of fifteen years ago.

Free association is certainly one of the oldest traits of experimental writing. We know how significant it can be because of Freudian doctrine and method, and we know how richly it can be used when we remember the Night-town scene in Ulysses, where the method is justified by the subject matter. However, Joyce's genius cannot justify the six pages entitled "Regarding the Nature and Accomplishments of Heaven," although Pandemonium would be more exact, in which are mixed doodles, floor plans, specimens of the author's handwriting, arrows and signposts, typescript and textbook illustrations. The author of this effusion employs the cunning device of concealing some of his lines behind others

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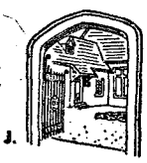
Published under the auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations

by LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER



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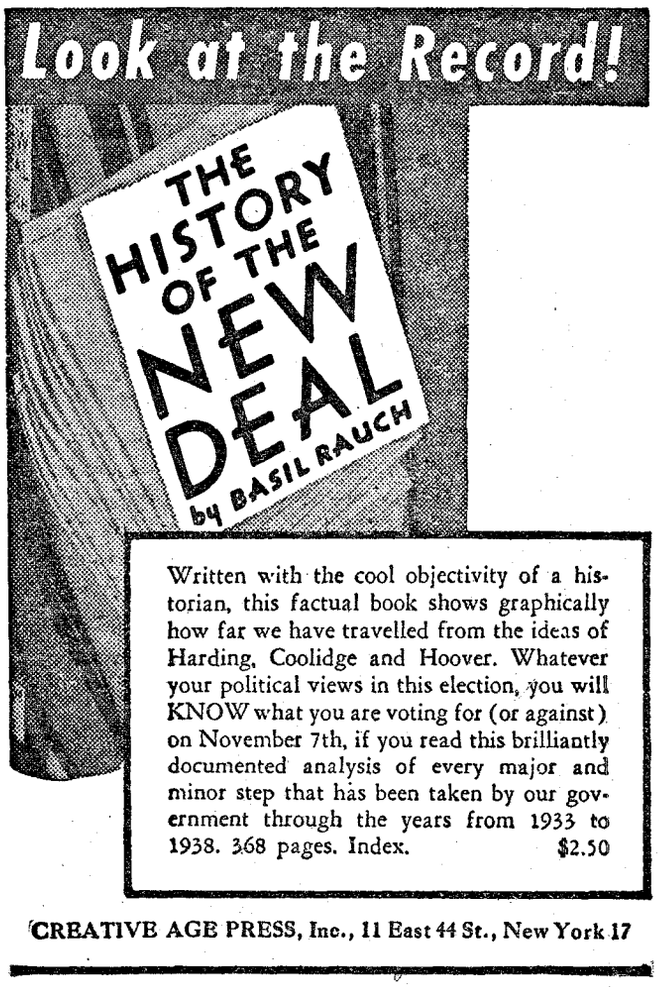
so that they cannot be read, thus silencing the critic. But elsewhere one can make out such phrases as "the noise of motionless runners," "the grin of leaves," and "the impression of the radiant delivers." It would really be interesting to know why anyone wants so much and tries so hard to be meaningless.

But this flirtation with the ineffable is fortunately not at all typical. Other pitfalls of free association show themselves in authors less innocent and more gifted. When one of them writes of "the illimitable surgery of the moonlight," it is difficult to know whether the white attire of surgeons or the blade-like character of light rays is responsible for the pretentious triviality of the metaphor. So, too, it is hard to make out why another poet, one capable of the genuine irony of "The middle class shall inherit the earth," should feel that anything but resemblance of sound justified a reference to Sigmund Freud as Sigmund Fraud.

The use of abstractions is another way in which the experimental writer often deceives himself, and he is far from alone in this fault. A literary work must have a theme; ideas are necessary to illuminate the experience the author deals with: it is natural then to commit the error of merely stating one's theme abstractly, or of reducing the story to a lyrical ballet of ideas. After all, ideas seem to be so much more profound than observation, and it becomes easy to maintain a style if one does not have to give one's subject a time, place, local habitation, and name. Thus it is that one of the authors in this volume writes: "Value is the elastic ether/ Of quality that fills the gaps/ In the continuum of discrete space—The prime togetherness." One cannot help being impressed by such a concussion of the abstruse. Elsewhere the temptation to abstraction makes one author call his characters A, B, C, and D, which is very like calling one's characters Sincerity and Adultery instead of Cordelia and Anna Karenina. Just as the regional author tends to be too particular, so the experimental author tends to generalize with too much ease.

None the less, free association and abstraction are the causes of what is good as well as what is not good in this collection. And it would be hard to think of any other place where one was as likely to enjoy the delights of sensibility, eager and full of bounce, and fresh and full of verve and nerve. These qualities show themselves to one or another degree in the stories and poems by William Carlos Williams, Meyer Liben, June Cannan, John Malcolm Brinnin, Howard Moss, Tennessee Williams, Kappo Phelan, Weldon Kees, and, most of all, in the pages devoted to Latin American poetry and Lorca, in Lorca's miraculous imagery.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ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CREATIVE AGE PRESS, Inc., 11 East 44 St., New York 17

The Collectivist Bogy

THE ROAD TO SERFDOM. By Friedrich Hayek. The University of Chicago Press. $2.75.

HOW TO TELL PROGRESS FROM REACTION: ROADS TO INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY. By Manya Gordon. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.

THE rise of totalitarianism has prompted the democratic world to view all collectivist answers to our social problem with increased apprehension. It is feared that any system of "planning" and any increase in the political control of the economic process will lead toward the omnipotent state. These apprehensions, expressed within reason, will be helpful in preserving democracy; for a too powerful state is dangerous to our liberties, even when its avowed purpose is the achievement of a more equal justice.

Friedrich Hayek, an Austrian economist now resident in Britain, raises these apprehensions to unmeasured proportions and scares himself back into an almost consistent laissez faire social philosophy, qualified only by the concession that the state may be permitted to guarantee minimal social securities. Some of our wise men have been heaping excessive praise upon this book, but I do not find it any more profound or prudent than Herbert Hoover's book on "Liberty" written about a decade ago.

No social philosophy dealing with only one of two contrasting perils which modern society faces is adequate to our situation. Dr. Hayek sees the perils of political power clearly enough; but there is nothing in his book to indicate the slightest awareness of the perils of inordinate economic power. He writes as if the automatic balances of a free competitive system were still intact, or would be, if the world had not been beguiled by collectivist thought. There is no understanding of the fact that a technical civilization has accentuated the centralization of power in economic society and that the tendency to monopoly has thrown the nice balance of economic forces—if it ever existed—into disbalance.

Hayek furthermore makes the mistake of assuming that if there is any political control of economic process at all it

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The Nation's Fall Book Number

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and

Brief Reviews by Sidney Hook, Lionel Trilling, Albert Guerard, Rolfe Humphries, Reinhold Niebuhr, Eric Russell Bentley, Marcus Duffield, and others.

Hereafter *The Nation* will print each week one long review of an important book and a series of "little reviews"—short critical comments by authoritative writers who are regular contributors to *The Nation's* Book Section. Fiction in Review will continue as usual. There will be a Verse Chronicle from time to time and short essays on a wide variety of subjects.

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must be consistently dictatorial. "If," he declares, "the complex system of interrelated activities is to be consciously directed at all, it must be directed by a single staff of experts, and ultimate responsibility must rest with a commander-in-chief whose hands must not be fettered by democratic procedure." This is pretty close to pure nonsense; and all the experience of the democratic nations, deeply involved in planning production for war purposes, refutes it.

Miss Gordon has the same fear that the seed of totalitarianism may lurk in the philosophy of collectivism which Hayek displays; but she understands the other side of the problem. As a consequence she achieves a measured and helpful analysis of our political problems in which our faith in the possibility of achieving both security and freedom is strengthened and in which the perils and possibilities of various strategies are carefully weighed.

Miss Gordon regards the trend toward democratic socialism in Britain and Sweden as more or less normative for the Western world. In this she may be right, though she may be a little too uncritical in assessing the political achievements of these two nations. Perhaps she estimates the achievements correctly, but she hardly gives an adequate account of the perils which these nations still face in the political rapids of the post-war period.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

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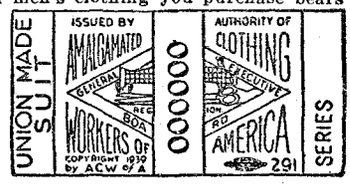

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Context of Impressionism

FRENCH IMPRESSIONISTS AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES. Preface by Edward Alden Jewell. Photo Research and Biographies by Aimée Crane. Supervised by André Gloeckner. The Hyperion Press (Distributed by Random House). $5.95.

IMPRESSIONIST painting was one of the graces of the Third Republic, and like the Third Republic it was a historical episode, not a classification or genre. In his preface to this book Edward Alden Jewell, the art critic of the New York *Times,* makes a despairing attempt to decide just which painters the impressionist label belongs to. He considers the hallmark of impressionism to be "divisionism," or divided tones and colors: colors optically blended by juxtaposition on the canvas rather then by mixture on the palette or by glazing or scumbling. But he admits that this principle was constantly violated by everyone except the "post-impressionist" Seurat, and that Monet was later on the only one to show the disregard for composition that is supposed to be another standard trait of impressionism. Mr. Jewell gets into all this trouble because he has somehow forgotten that impressionism began with neither the divided tone nor the accidental composition.

As R. H. Wilenski has pointed out, impressionism emerged from realism in the early eighteen sixties with Manet's *peinture claire,* which eschewed under-painting and worked from dark to light instead of the other way about, as was the academic practice. *Peinture claire* was a means of painting more quickly so as to seize fleeting effects, and was also a response to the new way shown by photography of describing variations of light. Manet, Monet, and Pissarro painted under photographic influence well into the eighteen seventies, suppressing local color in order to follow the play of light and dark by tinted tonalities of gray. The work they produced in this phase is just as much a part of impressionist painting as the rainbow-hued pictures painted under Renoir's lead in the eighties and later. Degas, who, according to Mr. Jewell, was never an impressionist, felt this influence of photographic light values at about the same time as the others—his franker, smoother use of color ought not to obscure this; and he also owed to photography the impulse toward his innovations in design. Moreover, Degas's pastels rely greatly on broken or divided color—above and beyond the fact that the nature itself of that medium has a tendency to impose divisionism on the artist who uses it for more than a sketch.

The question as to who were and were not impressionists is relatively unimportant. Divisionism was only a phase of impressionism, and impressionism was a historical phenomenon. The main thing is that what Manet, Monet, Renoir, Pissarro, Degas, Sisley, Morisot, Cézanne, Van Gogh, Gauguin, Seurat, and Toulouse-Lautrec had in common was more important historically and for the purposes of terminology than what they did not have in common. What they shared was an attitude and practice which, having originated in an attempt to limn nature with the utmost fidelity, culminated in the exaltation of painting as something capable of producing results in its own terms superior

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to the results of the imitation of nature as practiced in the nineteenth century.

"French Impressionists and Their Contemporaries" marks an advance in American standards of reproduction. Several of its fifty-one color plates approach the level of Austrian and German work in this field. For this André Gloeckner, who supervised the production of the book, deserves credit. In addition to works of the artists mentioned above, examples are reproduced in black and white as well as in color from the hands of Corot, Monticelli, Boudin, Guillaumin, Redon, Forain, Signac, Cassatt, Carrière, Bonnard, and Vuillard.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

CONTRIBUTORS

LOUIS FISCHER, one of *The Nation's* contributing editors, has been a newspaper correspondent in Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Russia, and India. Among his books are "Men and Politics," "The Soviets in World Affairs," "The War in Spain," "A Week with Gandhi," and "Empire."

ANNA LOUISE STRONG, after a successful career in journalism and social work in this country, went to Russia in 1921, and has since spent most of her time there. In 1930 she organized the Moscow *Daily News*, the first English-language paper in Russia. She is known best for her books on Russian life, such as "Children of Revolution" and "This Soviet World," and for her autobiography "I Change Worlds."

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HERMANN KESTEN is a well-known German novelist, playwright, and editor. His works available in English are "Joseph Breaks Free," "Happy Man," "Mary Baker Eddy," "Spanish Fire," "I, the King," and "The Children of Guernica."

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DRAMA

Soldier's Wife

THE current vocabulary of dramatic criticism does not include any term to indicate in a play that special quality which editors have in mind when they refer to "slick-paper fiction." Until quite recently, I think, the lack was not frequently felt, for the simple reason that even purely commercial writing for the stage rarely had just that quality. Not all Broadway plays were, goodness knows, on any high level of artistry, but even the vulgarity of Broadway was vulgarity of a highly specialized kind which one found there more often and more clearly defined than one found it anywhere else.

On the one hand there was the simple-minded theatricality which could be described as "hokum" with the assurance that anyone familiar with the current stage would know exactly what was meant. On the other there was a kind of brassy pseudo-sophistication which was sufficiently indicated when a new piece was labeled "a typical Broadway play." But neither of these was anything like slick-paper fiction.

The latter is less naive than theatrical hokum and a good deal less brassy than the "typical Broadway play." It generally skirts safely around the edge of some supposedly serious theme. It is, of couse, resolutely optimistic. It combines a certain amount of sophistication with a folksy wholesomeness. And it is written in a flowing style alternating the epigram with the cliché in such a fashion that the sheerest fatuity sounds almost smart.

Perhaps it is because the theater has come increasingly to depend upon writers who are not in the first instance writers for the stage; perhaps it is because, more and more, plays are financed from Hollywood, where the slick-paper fiction writer has won his apotheosis; but in any event more and more of the new stage pieces have the quality which one has learned to associate with popular magazines, with the movies, and with the soap operas rather than any which was once characteristic of Broadway even when Broadway was at its worst; and Rose Franken's new hit "Soldier's Wife" (Golden Theater) is a typical case in point. It might have been—and for all I know was—first a short story or a serial. It almost certainly will be a successful movie. And it could be all three things with no more than the purely formal changes necessary in transforming it from novel to play to movie. The same relaxed, sentimental triviality of tone and the same easy disposal of "problems" which are raised to give just a pompous hint of seriousness would go as well in the *Woman's Home Companion* or the Roxy Theater as they do on the stage.

A soldier invalided home from the Pacific finds that his wife has been bravely waiting for him. A dying buddy to whom he had read her letters happened to be the son of a publisher, and through him the letters are put into print. Overnight the volume becomes a best-seller, but between them the young couple decide that a home is better than a career, and that is absolutely all. Since very little time is required to tell such a story, the evening is filled out with two things in almost equal proportions —intimate little family jokes (including the one about hurrying to finish the chair before the paint gives out) and sudden set speeches about how thousands of couples like them will have a difficult readjustment to make since husbands have had experiences which the wives will never share and wives have learned independence while forced to get along by themselves. This particular couple wonders "if we have any right to be happy" and concludes that "marriage is made up of little things." Just to show that they (and the author)

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are wholesomely frank and modern about sex, we find them a few minutes before the curtain falls preparing to go to bed early in order to beget a child.

The curious thing is that three spectators out of four will probably go home convinced, not only that they have seen a thoughtful and timely play, but also that the picture of this young couple is "so true to life." Yet I, being the fourth, am firmly convinced that no two people in all the world ever behaved with anything approaching such stereotyped cuteness or ever so regularly rose to every occasion with the current feelings and the appropriately polished clichés in which to express them—except, of course, in so far as they were modeling themselves on the heroes and heroines of the family magazine. And it is an awful thought that if the stage is really going to join hands with the monthlies and the movies to propagate precisely the same ideals in precisely the same terms, the time may come when all America will be living slick-paper fiction.

A small cast of competent and well-known performers seems pretty well subdued to the stuff it works in. As the young wife, Martha Scott could satisfactorily pose for the colored illustrations to go with the serialized version of the piece. As the husband, Myron McCormick sucks his pipe in the fashion approved by all manly but non-glittering husbands. Only Glenn Anders, who plays the role of a very easily converted cynic, seems to me to give a performance which anyone could remember.

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MUSIC

IN SOME of his music for "Bloomer Girl", Harold Arlen uses a gently flowing style that comments amusingly on the 1861 situations it deals with. Most of it, however, is traditional Broadway musical comedy music, no more than routine and competent, but enjoyable, and genuine, which makes it more enjoyable than a more spectacular synthetic product by Kurt Weill. Even the routine songs are livened up by clever touches in E. Y. Harburg's lyrics; and interpolated among the fervent phrases of the juvenile lead's love song, "Evalina," are sardonically deflating comments by delightful Celeste Holm. And in one song, "T'morra, t'morra"—a scornful rejection of the attitude which would give up the certain pleasures of today for the uncertain rewards of the future—Arlen and Harburg produce something that ranks with the best of Rodgers and Hart.

Joan McCracken's singing of this song stops the show; and after an added stanza she does a hilariously funny dance of on-the-spot inviting abandon invented by Agnes de Mille. In addition Miss de Mille contributes a delightful ballet concerned with the emancipation of woman from household slavery, a ballroom dance with some charming new details, and some amusing extravagances for a mock-performance of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." But then the plot, as musical comedy plots do, suddenly turns serious; and we get a "Civil War Ballet" in the style of Tudor's "Dark Elegies" (Tudor's "Sacre du printemps," as someone I know describes it), with even a Tudor Woman in Black and Red and Girl in Rose and Her Soldier who looks like Hugh Laing. The degree of the imitation makes me suspect, and hope, that the piece is a dead-pan joke—which, incidentally, the audience does not appreciate.

The insufficient number of principal dancers for leading roles in the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo results in the use of dancers, both first- and second-line, in roles for which they are not suited or equipped. A charming ingenue like Krassovska occasionally has to take over Danilova's classical roles in the grand manner. When Youskevitch is not re-engaged Franklin has to dance in "Swan Lake"; when Franklin is incapacitated and Youskevitch is still not re-engaged their roles are assigned to lesser dancers. One of these is Danielian, whose disconcerting appearance—large head on very thin body—and ostentatious violence wreck classical roles and convert the part of the King of the Dandies in "Le Beau Danube" into a piece of *bizarrerie*—this when, as it happens, there is Goudovitch who could dance them with effortless grace and elegance.

The similar weakness in the Ballet Theater last year when Markova did not appear has been remedied this year by the engagement of Toumanova and

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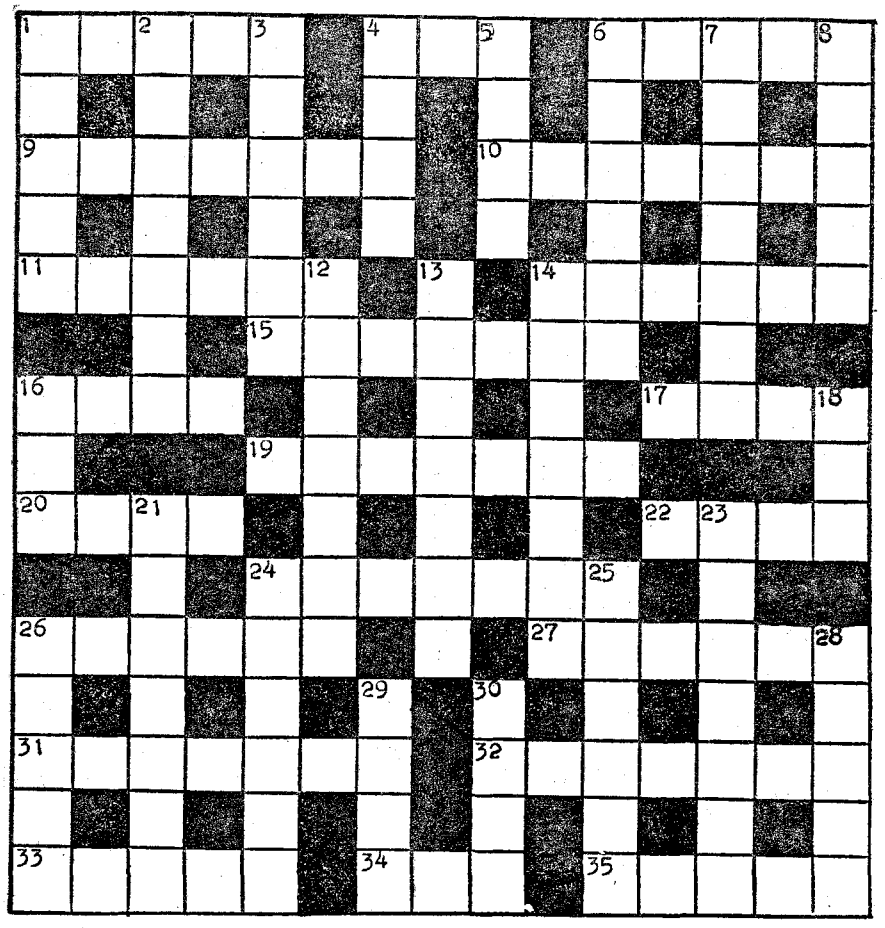
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 86

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Man's great disc-overy
4 Dr. Johnson's retort to the man who told him he couldn't say "Boo!" to a goose
6 Flowers of summer or Christmas
9 Part of a dormitory
10 Word mentioned once in this list of clues
11 Position in life
14 A Marshal of France since November 19, 1918
15 It looks as though the cowboy might be useful in the ring
16 Napier's landing-place
17 There may be a crow's nest on this
19 "Time's up!" (anag.)
20 He illustrated *Rabelais* and *Don Quixote*
22 One even smaller than Tom Thumb
24 Foreign country: you should have it in mind
26 Founder of the Methodists
27 A country girl in *As You Like It*
31 Slightly wet
32 A sort of British congressional record
33 Diana appears disguised as another goddess
34 One of our ancestors?
35 Vinegar is rarely called this today

DOWN

1 They are better for a trimming
2 Buck me up with a show of affection
3 Lo, Puck is in prison!
4 Opposed to Briton during 1899-1902
5 The spoken part of a choral
6 A dog Hamelin lacked
7 Dvorak was his pupil
8 The Black-eyed one
12 The problem set before Mary is short
13 "Whose - - - - - - - flow with artless ease, Like orient pearls at random strung" (Jones)
14 A nut pie (anag.)
16 Pea-jacket
18 Cat-burglar's name?
21 His only desire was to write operas, but *La Boutique Fantasque* showed that ballet music came easily, too
23 B. A. in turns given head place in the East
24 Earls once were, and children have been since
25 A delicate gradation
26 The animal that possesses the greatest attraction to man?
28 Swiss song containing another
29 She looks the same coming and going
30 The fifth letter is for you

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 85

ACROSS:—1 BARON; 6 TOWER; 9 EMBRACE; 10 COLIC; 11 AGRIN; 12 TITTLES; 16 YEOMAN; 19 NEEDLE; 22 ARTILLERY; 23 STIR; 24 ERNE; 25 IDES; 26 EGIL; 27 BABA; 29 IRAN; 30 NONSUITED; 33 DYNAMO; 35 ISSUED; 38 EWE-NECK; 41 TRAWL; 42 IN BED; 43 EARLDOM; 44 HEART; 45 ODDLY.

DOWN:—1 BECKY; 2 ROLLO; 3 NECTAR; 4 ABET; 5 JAIL; 6 TEASER; 7 WORLD; 8 RANGE; 13 IN THE KNOW; 14 TALC; 15 ENERGETIC; 17 ESTUARY; 18 MARIANA; 20 EYELIDS; 21 LINEAGE; 28 RUIN; 31 OMELET; 32 ESKIMO; 33 DUTCH; 34 NYASA; 36 UNBID; 37 DADDY; 39 EARS; 40 ENDS.

Riabouchinska; also Lichine has been engaged, and Youskevitch for part of the New York season; and with these dancers, with Hightower and Massine, with Kaye and Laing there is a brilliant company for the excellent repertory. One regrets the disappearance of "Billy the Kid" and "Capriccio Espagnol," the retention of "Helen of Troy," "Bluebeard," and "Gala Performance"; one welcomes the acquisition of Lichine's "Graduation Ball"; one rejoices over a new ballet by Balanchine, which, however, is not sufficient representation of the greatest living choreographer; one hopes, therefore, that the rumor that his "Apollo" will not be done after all is false; and one hopes further that more of his ballets—"Concerto Baroco," "Cotillon," "Concurrence," "The Prodigal Son," "The Ball"—will be added.

At its opening performance, then, which is all I have seen thus far, Ballet Theater was able to offer "Swan Lake" with Toumanova, "Graduation Ball" with Riabouchinska and Lichine, and Tudor's "Pillar of Fire" with Kaye and Laing. The music of "Swan Lake" pulled the performance down to its own sluggish course (but someone who should know tells me the dancers slow down the music); the dancing of the *corps de ballet* was, in addition, extremely unprecise; and Toumanova's own dancing was as though seen in slow motion, with every movement overdeliberate, distended, and exaggerated into a demonstration of technical prowess. The demonstration was successful: her performance fairly shouted its technical mastery and assurance at one; but it was stiff and cold instead of fluent and poetic. Riabouchinska, on the other hand, proved to be the enchanting creature of light and swift grace that one remembered; and it was a joy to see her and Lichine again in that ballet so full of gaiety and wit, of youthful innocence and sweetness. As for "Pillar of Fire," "here for once is a ballet which means something, which has some relation to life," say the people who find no meaning or relation to life in "Les Sylphides." The first impact of this meaning—the torment of the sexually frustrated girl, the crisis she gets into and out of—as conveyed in the dance movements of "Pillar of Fire" was as great for me as it is for those people. But whereas they continue to be interested by the meaning, I find myself no longer interested by the dance movements—except the ones of the final *pas de deux*, which I like for themselves, not for their meaning.

B. H. HAGGIN

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THE Nation

America's Opportunity to Create and Maintain Lasting Peace

Excerpts from Addresses at The Nation Associates Conference, New York, October 7, 8.

VOLUME 159 NEW YORK : OCTOBER 21, 1944 NUMBER 17, PART 2

1. THE ELECTION AND AMERICA'S FUTURE

The Challenge of the Election

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

I AM HAPPY to open this first conference of The Nation Associates. The warm response to our invitation shows how keenly aware people are of the immensity of the stakes tied up in the Presidential campaign under way. We all realize what we are up against. And realizing it we are concerned to understand in all their difficult detail the problems that face us, so that we may act with intelligence and courage as citizens of the most powerful democratic nation in the world.

The problems singled out for consideration at this conference are those of international political relationships, internal economic relationships, and those human relationships involved in differences of race, religion, and political persuasion. Within this broad area I want to touch briefly on a single theme: the need of electing a Congress which will support the President in launching and defending the peace.

Most of us here probably favor an amendment authorizing the ratification of treaties by a Senate majority or, at most, by a majority of both houses. But the chances are that no such change can be made before the time comes for the United States to agree—or refuse—to join a new association of nations. And in that case, thirty-three Senators, if the entire membership is present during the vote, can prevent our participation—can, indeed, vote down any treaty of peace.

How many isolationist Senators the next Congress will include depends on us. According to an estimate by James Loeb in the *New Republic* of 61 incumbent Senators whose terms will continue after November, 14 are classified as isolationists and 12 as doubtful. Of the Senators who are running for reelection, 7 are considered isolationists and 5 are doubtful. My arithmetic is weak but I can do simple addition and subtraction. If all the doubtful Senators who remain in office should vote isolationist, we would have 26 lined up against American participation and only 7 would have to be elected. But perhaps the doubtful should be given the benefit of the doubt. Let us assume that six of the twelve will vote for participation; that will give us twenty oppositionists already in—a figure that indicates the desperate need of defeating the twelve with bad or checkered voting records who are standing for reelection.

Unfortunately it looks as if several of these men stand a good chance of election. And so it is not enough to work for their defeat. We must work just as hard to defeat the isolationists who are running for the first time. In some cases these contenders are difficult to classify, having established no clear records which can be examined. But assiduity on the part of the voters will overcome this difficulty. A few flat questions on his position regarding international affairs should be put by civic and voters' organizations and newspapers to every Senatorial candidate, old and new. And let us not allow for equivocation. Let us pin these men down. Every one of them, believe me, will say he loves peace and thinks the United States should have a hand in keeping it. What we must watch out for are qualifications that nullify general commitments.

In these sessions we shall have a chance to debate the actual structure of the peace that will be made or wrecked by the members of the next Senate. We shall discuss the form a world organization should take; the question of the balance of power between small and large states; the crucial relationship between the success of any world organization and our government's policy toward the political forces struggling for power in every country. We shall discuss the relationship of empire to peace. But these problems are purely intellectual if we cannot assume that this country will accept the basic obligation to deal with them which is implied in our participation in an international security plan. Acceptance of that obligation is a prerequisite to all improvements, small or revolutionary.

We are citizens of a democracy. The decisions we must make are as final and unarguable as the decisions made by dictators where democracy does not exist. It is in the full realization of our immense power and our staggering responsibility that we are gathered together in this conference. Let us use the discussions of these sessions to make our citizenship more effective—and our vote more intelligent on November 7.

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Congress and the Peace

BY HON. FIORELLO H. LA GUARDIA

Mayor of the City of New York

ONE of the fundamental problems Congress will have to face is concerned with our welfare and the welfare of the world. Some countries have not had enough to eat. We have had surpluses. Other countries have had surpluses. And people will not go hungry any more. That goes for our own domestic economy, and that goes for people in other lands throughout the world. Therefore, Congress will have to face this in cooperation with other countries, first those in our own hemisphere and then beyond.

Congress will have to provide a pool of so-called surpluses. I say so-called surpluses because we really do not know how much surplus of any given commodity we have at any given time. We know how much surplus we have had of commodities above and beyond the purchasing power of our people. But that does not mean that all of our people were properly and sufficiently fed or clad or housed.

In order to determine what surplus exists, we must first ascertain what domestic need is. Not by purchasing power, because that may fluctuate, but by the actual need of every man, woman, and child in the country.

For instance, let us take wheat. We know how much bread a person should have, and a child should have. Take that amount and multiply it by the population and you will have the required amount of wheat that we really need. Beyond that you have your surplus.

And the same reasoning can be applied to dairy products and cotton. If our children had all the butter and milk they required for good health, if they had the clothes they required for warmth and self respect, there would probably be no surpluses today. But if we use our full productive capacity and meet these human needs we shall have surpluses. Then the problem is to decide the best way of exchanging them for the surpluses of other countries. I propose that after this war Congress should make it a first aim to create a sort of National Surplus Commodities Corporation for the pooling of surpluses. And there should be a corresponding corporation for this hemisphere to handle its total surplus products. This would go a long way toward eliminating want and bringing about international stability.

Now, that is up to Congress. The program of Congress, the leadership, must be provided by the Executive and negotiations carried out through the State Department. But all of that is so completely new and requires such drastic changes in our economic habits that it will demand an intelligent approach on the part of Congress and legislation to give force and to give effect to any such world plan.

I fear very much that, after the war is over, we shall go back to our old thinking habits. I have lived through such a period. I was in Congress before the last war. I was in Congress after the last war, and we all saw the trend. Last time, unfortunately, we did not know enough. This time, we have the experience of the previous war. And just as sure as we are sitting here, unless there is a satisfactory arrangement for the exchange of food and goods and commodities, so that people of all countries can live decently, we are going to have trouble again.

Just stop to consider that the war is costing us now an average of $288,000,000 a day. Give me four days of that and what we can do for housing in our country! Give me one day of that and what we can do for public health, for five years, six years, maybe ten years! Give me one day of that, or give me two hours of that, and what we can do for education in our country!

Don't you see how we failed in the past? Don't you see how it is possible to correct mistakes of the past? Don't you see the opportunity the next Congress has? I would sooner be a Congressman from a third rate city than Mayor of a first class city.

What the Negro Hopes For

BY HENRY LEE MOON

Former Regional Racial Relations Adviser to the Federal Public Housing Administration

WHAT the Negro hopes for in the post-war world is simple and obvious. His hopes may be summed up in a phrase—full equality and the end of Jim Crow. In this, the race is united as never before. Indeed, the attainment of that goal is today more than a mere hope. It is now the grim determination of all elements within the race.

We must have the right to work, to be upgraded, to occupy any position for which we may be individually qualified by training, experience, and skill. In the field of politics, the Negro expects those political rights guaranteed to every American by the Constitution. Denial of political rights imposes a status of second-class citizenship, which the Negro is no longer willing to accept. Finally, and urgently, we must have equal educational opportunity. Our children must have facilities and instruction equal to those offered to other children of the nation.

Our struggle must be for equality with meaning. Such equality requires the raising of the social, economic, and cultural levels of the common people throughout this country. In a word, that means we must have a new society in which poverty can be abolished and racial conflicts eliminated. If we are to end job discrimination, we must first achieve full, stable employment. Then there will be no mad scramble for jobs; no need to exclude large bodies of workers because of race, sex, creed, or national origin; no fear of insecurity. Were there decent homes enough for all the people of America, it would be impossible to crowd Negroes or other racial minorities into the back alleys and filthy slums of our great industrial cities. Our slums and blighted areas could be cleared.

Despite the bitter opposition of entrenched reaction, President Roosevelt's program of social legislation has

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contributed immeasurably to the advancement of the common people of this country. The New Deal has not only recognized the need for raising the economic, social, and cultural levels of the masses of the American people, but it has also been aware of the special disabilities under which the Negro minority lives. Discrimination in employment has been curbed. Negro personnel has been appointed in many agencies to see that Negroes enjoy full benefits of the legislation.

It is for this reason that I believe the majority of Negro voters will recognize the need for reelecting President Roosevelt and giving him the kind of Congress that will enable the Administration to go forward in this drive for equality of opportunity.

What the Jew Hopes For

BY STEPHEN S. WISE

President of the American Jewish Congress

REMEMBERING that the Jew today is homeless, suffers from actual political, physical homelessness in all the lands of the earth, excepting our own country, the Soviet Union, Britain, liberated France, and the satellite countries as one after the other they begin to be freed, what is our hope? What are the possible solutions of the Jewish problem?

Well, there was Hitler's solution, extermination, and he has done a mighty good job. But I think it is rather generally felt, excepting by fascists in our country and in all countries, that extermination is not the most decent solution of a problem.

Now, there is another attitude towards the problem of the Jew, and that is to assent to a wrong done to the Jew, as witnessed, I am sorry to say, by the non-organization in any real sense of rescue and of migration. I know there is an attempt at rescue, and I should be most ungracious if I failed to acknowledge the admirable service of the War Refugee Board under the leadership of Mr. John W. Pehle. But it is all too little and it is all too late.

There is one door that could be opened, but it is virtually shut. There is no more than a trickle through that crevice, namely, the door that opens into Palestine. I am not speaking of the White Paper. I assume that is as dead as Methusaleh or as Munich but, after all, the doors to Palestine are not open. At present, it has become almost too late to make the opening of those doors meaningful and effective. There are still some thirteen or fourteen thousand certificates even under that wretched White Paper, that wretchedly unjust White Paper, thirteen or fourteen thousand places which could be filled.

Here is the Jewish hope: that after the World War, the United Nations, with the approval and cooperation of all the nations of civilization, will declare that Palestine is to be a Jewish National Home, and that that Jewish National Home shall take the form of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

My people deserve reparation from a Christian world, if there be a Christian world, a Christian world which ought to say to us Jews, "Of course, you Jews are going to have equality of rights and opportunity everywhere, because we of civilization have come to know that the anti-Jew is the anti-democrat." If we lived in a Christian world, anti-Semitism would cease to be an effective weapon of fascism, but as long as we live in a world which is Christian in name and Christ-less in truth, anti-Semitism will remain one of the most deadly, effective weapons of fascism, of every anti-democratic hope and yearning and passion in the world.

Small Business After the War

BY GEORGE J. SEEDMAN

National President, American Business Congress

THE first thing that small business needs is cooperation from government, big business, the farmer, and labor. Through cooperation we can find the meeting ground where the just interests of each group can be coordinated without injustices to any group.

Second, we must have representation by a genuine spokesman drawn from the ranks of small business on every government board or agency dealing with the problems of the businessman.

Third, we expect our government to take an active and continuing interest in our well-being. If the necessities of business life are denied to small people by those in control of the necessities, then our government must make those necessities available to us.

Fourth, we must be protected against financial disaster resulting from war dislocations. We must have the same safeguards and quick financial settlements for the smallest subcontractors as for the largest prime contractors.

Fifth, we seek the control of monopolies and we urge by the effective use of our anti-trust laws the destruction of every tendency toward monopolies which threaten our democratic system.

Sixth, we must have effective assistance from our government at the proper time. We cannot condone tardiness in bringing corrective action if that tardiness results in the liquidation of thousands of small businessmen.

Seventh, we must have equitable taxation so that small businessmen are permitted to retain in their business sufficient cash reserves to tide them over the difficult periods of reconversion to a peacetime economy.

Eighth, small businessmen must be able to secure justified money loans for a sufficient period of time and on terms permitting profitable use of such borrowings.

Ninth, small businessmen must have access to the guidance which big businessmen can afford to buy in management, financing, manufacturing technique, personnel training, labor relations, merchandising, and sales promotion.

Tenth, large-scale unemployment and economic depressions in the United States must be averted if the small businessman is to increase his span of life.

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What the Farmer Hopes For

BY PAUL SIFTON

Director of Labor and Public Relations of the National Farmers Union

WHAT do farmers hope for in the post-war world? What do they fear?

First, I think all farmers, even big farmers, hope for peace, lasting peace. Some farmers hope for a peace of cooperation among nations, a peace that will last because it is based upon economic, political, and social justice. Other farmers, fearing the wartime cooperation among the United Nations will melt away when peace comes, are prepared for a return to pre-war conditions, to high tariffs, to an isolationist imperialism in which we would sell but would not buy.

Second, many farmers hope that full production and employment can be carried over into the post-war. Some others would like to continue full production but would prefer to have some unemployment; it would be easier to get more labor at lower wages.

Members of the National Farmers Union, on the other hand, hope and work for a post-war in which full use will be made of all human and material resources, full production, full employment, fair distribution, and full consumption. Our president, James G. Patton, has proposed legislation to insure a post-war national production level of $200 billion a year.

Third, we hope that the successful TVA will be used as a pilot operation for the nation, in the Missouri, Arkansas, Columbia, St. Lawrence, and all the other river valleys of the nation. By genuine regional administration, we will by-pass the futile debate over state and federal rights, powers, and efficiency.

Fourth, most farmers want some stabilization of prices, wages, and profits. We hope, and will continue to insist, that farm production goals be based on an adequate diet for all our people, plus reasonable foreign needs and markets for our foods and fibers.

Fifth, we hope, and will continue to insist, that credit at reasonable rates and terms, and with up-to-date technical assistance when necessary, be made available to all farmers, to returning veterans, and to farmers' cooperatives by such agencies as the Farm Security Administration and the Banks for Cooperatives.

Sixth, we hope, and will insist, that farm people achieve parity of living with other groups, in income, in new housing, electrification, health, medical care and hospitalization, social security, and education. The first step, long overdue, is the divorce of the Extension Services from private farm organizations.

Seventh, finally, and dependent upon our success in achieving the national well-being described above, we believe that cooperation in the international field will give us lasting peace, a peace in which mankind, instead of fighting over artificial man-made scarcities, will share the natural abundance which now, for the first time in all history, is available to everyone—if we can learn to live with abundance and like it.

Labor's Stake in the Post-War World

BY JAMES B. CAREY

Secretary-Treasurer, Congress of Industrial Organizations

WE RECOGNIZE, and certainly the C. I. O. emphasizes, that the worker is the basis of the whole American economy. Today, according to Treasury figures, we have 64 million wage-earners of all categories in the United States, but there are 21½ million getting less than $1,000 per year. There are 44½ million getting between $1,000 and two thousand dollars a year. In other words, 70 per cent of the wage earners of the United States are getting less than $2,000 a year even during a period when war has forced our economy to operate at high levels.

Labor has made some progress, however. The C. I. O. is doing a job with Negroes and women and wage earners in general, doing a job in the interest of the entire nation, and our demands for the future are modest. We expect to receive a minimum wage of 65 cents an hour acquired by legislation, and, in addition, by the economic strength of the workers in this country.

We expect, in addition to that, to increase the wages of all the workers and give our businessmen the confidence that they need through a guaranteed market resulting from a guaranteed annual wage at high enough levels to keep our industries in operation.

Now, our people are talking full production and full employment and providing job opportunities for the veterans returning from the military areas in the world, and for women. But I for one, am not too certain that we are going to have the idealistic world we have been talking about one day after military hostilities cease, because we have an important job to do on the political front. The wage question today is a political question. The reconversion question is political. The question of unemployment pay for displaced war workers is political.

In 1942, 22 million fewer people voted than had voted in 1940. And the smallest percentage of voters in 1942 was from the industrial workers. We got just what we deserved and afterwards, when we analyzed that vote, we decided to do something about it. So we organized the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, and we told our people to roll up their sleeves and get their hands a little dirty, but to see to it that this time the workers go to the polls and vote.

Labor knows there is a hard fight ahead—first to push the war to a speedy, victorious close and then to put as much brains, energy, work, and resources into the war against poverty, depression, and unemployment. Labor knows there will be just as hard a fight to prevent future wars as there has been to win this one. That is why this election is of such vital import.

[*The brilliant address on* The New Europe *presented by Charles A. Davila, former Rumanian Minister to Washington, carries such a challenge that it will be reprinted in full in a coming issue of* The Nation.]

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2. FOREIGN POLICY AND WORLD ORGANIZATION

The Basis of World Order

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Professor of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary

THE two basic requirements for world peace are order and justice. Minimal order in the world can be established only by the preponderant power of the great nations who now have the effective strength to bring the war to a successful conclusion. This order can be made just only if it is prevented by constitutional forms from becoming oppressive to the small nations.

Thus the two basic requirements of peace—order and justice—demand in the context of current events a stable three- or four-power accord on the one hand and on the other a broader accord of all the nations. Idealists are afraid that the great powers may achieve a partnership at the expense of the small powers and thus fasten a super-imperialism upon the world. But there is a greater danger that they will not reach a significant accord at all. To do so, they must arrive at agreements on how the continents shall be organized which will obviate the fears that one side is trying to organize the world against the other. If they are to succeed in doing this at all they must do it by drawing the smaller powers into the accord. A genuine European agreement, for instance, cannot leave out France. There is therefore less danger that the powers will organize a super-imperialism than that they will reach only superficial agreements which will fail to guarantee a stable peace.

The difficulties are primarily not juridic but political. When Russia makes the seemingly absurd demand at Dumbarton Oaks that each of the great powers shall have the right to decide whether or not it is to be defined as aggressor, this is ridiculous from a juridic standpoint. What it means politically is that no basic accord has been reached on the whole organization of Europe; and Russia is afraid that she might be declared the aggressor by her former partners in her dealings with Poland and the Baltic states. Thus the impossible juridic demand is in fact a revelation of a deep chasm of mutual mistrust between the great powers.

The real difficulties in arriving at a basic accord between the great powers as far as Europe is concerned are profound. One difficulty is political. A creative solution of the European problem would tend to raise up Europe as an entity (with France as the probable center of European power) against the three quasi- or non-European powers who now control the world. The other difficulty is economic. A creative solution of the European problem requires a degree of social control of property which the prejudices of the rich Anglo-Saxon powers abhor; but it requires something much less than communist totalitarianism. The fear of the rich democracies of the revolutionary and democratic ferment in Europe has been amply evidenced by our policy; and it gives Russia a tremendous advantage over us on the Continent. For Russia intends to harness this revolutionary temper. On the other hand Europe is sick of tyranny. Its abhorrence of tyranny would give democracy a great advantage if the Anglo-Saxon powers had the imagination to recognize that impoverished Europe cannot be rebuilt in the image of the great victorious powers.

The primary hazard to a stable peace from our perspective thus arises from the economic and political power impulses of the great nations. These power impulses do not threaten the world with super-imperialism, however. They threaten the world with the anarchy of rival imperialisms. If these impulses are held in check a stable world is possible.

From the American perspective the second great hazard to a stable peace comes not from the power impulses of the great nations but from the irresponsible idealism of American liberals and internationalists who are already asserting that we must not underwrite a peace unless it is a good peace, by which they mean a perfect constitutional system. They do not see that our irresponsibility is one of the chief causes of the difficulty between the great powers. We are attempting the most difficult task mankind has ever faced; and we cannot expect to do more in our generation than to lay minimal foundations. The task will become quite impossible if the nation which now has more power that any other, throws itself and its power into the world community in times of crisis and withdraws its power irresponsibly after the crisis. The mark of maturity among men and nations is willingness to assume continuing responsibility. Those of us who see the great perils of American power impulses must not allow our apprehensions to drive us into the camp of irresponsible nationalists who have opposite reasons from our own for seeking to evade international commitments.

America's Responsibility for World Peace

BY MANLEY O. HUDSON

Judge, Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague

THE problem of preventing a third world war presents itself to our generation as a staggering challenge. Unless we would fritter away the great opportunity of our time, unless we are willing to lose a peace bought with such toil and sacrifice, we must mobilize the intelligence of mankind in organizing the world of States to safeguard the security of all peoples.

We shall proceed, of course, with serious limitations. Chief of them, perhaps, is the fact that we must act before the healing of the rifts which the war has produced, while we ourselves are in the grip of war psychology. In the years following 1919, most of us were only too conscious of the serious consequences of war psychology on the

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Treaty of Versailles. Yet few of us now seem to appreciate that our current effort may suffer in a similar way. It may be of some help to us to take note of the fact, to foresee that our prevailing ideas will undergo many changes in the years to come, and to realize that we cannot hope to foist on the future the conditions which now obtain.

Another limitation with which we must strive is perhaps as serious. The world will not stand still tomorrow. No generation can bind its successors in a straitjacket. Each generation will insist, as ours insists, on meeting its own problems in its own way.

We in the United States shall have made a great gain if we can be spared from another partisan struggle such as that which paralyzed our action in the 1920's. To a large extent, our chief political parties are now united upon a general objective of international organization. To preserve that unity must be a prime consideration of our present-day effort. It can easily be dissipated, and we should not ignore the possibility. Difficulties will arise not so much from avowed opposition as from apprehensions of fanciful dangers. And it may be well to remind ourselves, after our experience of twenty-five years ago, that no one nation may be able to get all it wants in international negotiations, even if its people are unanimous in the desire.

I think we may now lay it down that there will be no general international organization in the near future unless the people of the United States are willing to take part in it in a measure commensurate with our power and prestige. Once we have taken a decision to that effect, a host of issues which we have debated over the last quarter of a century will vanish overnight.

The Problem of Security

BY GRAYSON KIRK

Professor of Government, Columbia University

NEW factors which have entered into our modern world have changed the basis of national security. The course of this war has demonstrated how important a factor a nation's industrial power is in its military potential. The ultimate defeat of Germany and Japan rests firmly on the combined industrial strength of the United States, the British Commonwealth, and Russia. Never before in the history of the modern state system has so much power been concentrated in the hands of three states. These changes have a definite bearing on the security position of small and non-industrial states and have rendered obsolete certain factors which previously were considered important aids to national security. As long as power remains concentrated in a solid organization of the three or four major industrial states which now constitute the core of the United Nations group, the national security of the United States is guaranteed. If this pool of power is dispersed, then the national security of the United States may be threatened by a possible recombination of power directed against her.

When we think of the framework within which intelligent planning for post-war security can be carried out, we see that it is equally impossible to return to a purely national basis of security or to the loose international arrangements represented by the League of Nations. Equally unrealistic is it to think of the complete dissolution of national entities in the structure of a super-state. However ideal "a Parliament of man, a federation of the world" may appear, we are not headed for it in the immediate future. There are also serious difficulties involved in resting a structure of world peace upon a framework of economic, moral, and legal sanctions or upon a policy of general armament limitation. They may play some important part in a system of international controls but they cannot be counted on to prevent acts of aggression leading to the outbreak of general war. There must be provision for the quick application of force under the direction of the world organization against an aggressor nation. This use of force, however, must not be divorced too far from national security interests.

Ultimately the problem of world security rests upon basic unanimity between the great powers. A serious divergence of political viewpoints or ambitions is likely to result in the end of world order. It must not be anticipated that a world organization as such will automatically keep the peace among the great powers. There must be political adjustments among them. The positive guarantee of security in the long run must be the emergence of a world society.

The Basis of World Security

BY G. BROMLEY OXNAM

Bishop of the Methodist Church, New York Area

OUR foreign policy must be based upon a frank recognition of the fact that the world is one, that the human family is one, that the common good must be supreme. The fundamental ends to be achieved must stand out in clear relief. If as democratic people we hold personality to be of supreme worth then we must be willing to use such forms of social and economic organization as give evidence of making the greatest contribution to personality. It simply will not do to make our foreign policy the tool of those interests who insist that the capitalist answer is the only answer, and therefore prefer the Darlans, the Bagdolios, the Francos. A foreign policy that seeks to preserve the privileges of the few at the expense of the good of the many is doomed to failure. The world house must be a home for all the children of God.

Since differences arise constantly, institutions established to settle differences must be in constant operation. It is not enough to have representatives of nations meet once in a decade and draw up conventions that they pledge themselves to observe. Just as international action to banish disease and to preserve health calls for international health agencies continuously at work, fighting plague here, struggling against typhus there, and all the

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while pursuing measures in research and preventive medicine; so, too, international action must be constant in dealing with such questions as stable currency, access to raw materials, transportation and communication, and labor standards. Upon the solution of such problems, peace depends. And solution calls for agencies continuously at work. Peace is a continuous process.

Consent is equally important. Coercion will not do, except as the community enforces law established to promote the general welfare. Government must rest upon the consent of the governed, and draw its just power from that consent. If peace is to be maintained, law must be established; and the law must express the consent of the people. No nation, or group of nations, can long dominate the world. If international anarchy is to give way before world law and order, a universal association of nations must be established. And decisions of the universal association must be based on consent. This, too, foreign policy must recognize.

All this assumes that the nations really belong to a larger entity, namely, the world community. Just as the nation has to be organized so the world must be organized. Just as law must govern in the nation, so it must govern in the world. Law does not govern in a nation, unless the citizens work together for the common good, respect the law, and obey it. It will not govern in the world unless there be continuous cooperation in which the factor of consent is basic.

The nation must recognize that just as the individual is subject to the law of the nation in which he lives, the nation must be subject to the law of the world of which it is a part. If the citizen refuses to obey the law of a democratic community, the community enforces the law in the interest of the common good. There can be no orderly community based upon the principle that each nation can do what it pleases. The nations of the world are responsible for world law, and when one nation refuses to obey that law, it becomes the concern of the world association.

Owing to serious paper restriction it has been found necessary to limit ourselves to significant excerpts from the main speeches. Several important contributions to the discussion have had to be omitted. For example, in this division, we have had to leave out Agnes Smedley's remarks on the internal situation in China, Dr. Albert C. J. Simard's remarks on the future of France, Ray Josephs's discussion of our South American foreign policy, and Lawrence Rosinger's contribution on our Far Eastern policy. These omissions we deeply regret. It will, however, be possible for any reader to secure mimeographed copies of any speech given at the conference. In addition, The Nation *plans to print in full in future issues the speeches of Charles Davila, Grayson Kirk, Philip Murray, Boris Shishkin, Charles H. Houston, Eveline M. Burns, David L. Podell, and Archibald MacLeish.*

3. ECONOMIC SECURITY AND WORLD PEACE

A Fiscal Program for High Employment

BY BEARDSLEY RUML

Treasurer, R. H. Macy & Co.; Chairman, Federal Reserve Bank, New York

TODAY most business men agree that the elimination of mass unemployment is the first requirement for the post-war period. The demonstration of what we and others are able to produce under the rules of a wartime economy is unanswerable evidence of what machines and men and organization can accomplish if their technical capacities are given full rein. We must now find means whereby private enterprise may do its part in achieving high production and high employment.

As a step toward agreement on long-term policy, I have suggested for discussion a nine-point post-war federal fiscal program.

First, no public spending for its own sake and no projects merely because they support purchasing power in general. Let us base our budget estimates on the efficient and economical carrying out of worthwhile activities to accomplish our national purposes.

Second, let us lower tax rates to the point where they will balance the budget at an agreed level of high employment. We do not want a deflationary tax program at times of less than standard high employment. Taxes should be reduced where they will do the most good in creating demand and encouraging private enterprise.

Third, having set our tax rates to balance the budget at high employment, let us leave them alone, except as there are major changes in national policy. When employment goes beyond an agreed level, or if, with high employment, we have a boom in prices, let us hold the surplus or use it to reduce the national debt, not as an excuse for further tax reduction.

Fourth, let us hold onto the principle of progressive income taxes and estate taxes as the best way of reversing the tendency of purchasing power to come to rest. Let us reduce the rates on the individual income tax to stimulate consumption and to make possible investment in new enterprise on a business basis.

Fifth, let us plan our public works, not to balance the whole economy, but to help toward stabilizing the construction industry. Our objective should be to provide in this basic industry continuous activity within agreed limits throughout the year and over the years. This would require advance planning of public works—federal, state, and local—scheduling, and the holding back of a large reserve of optional projects.

Sixth, let us neutralize the social-security programs as far as their fiscal influences are concerned. Since their beginning they have been highly deflationary. For old-age security, let us set our rates and benefits so that they

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come somewhere near balancing; and for unemployment insurance, let us set our rates so that intake and outgo balance at defined high levels of employment.

Seventh, let us keep the important excise taxes for the time being, and get rid of the rest. If employment and production lag overmuch, let us get rid of these too, except when they have some social purpose, since they are deflationary. We need no general sales tax for fiscal policy purposes, now that the individual income tax is on a current basis.

Eighth, let us arrange our lending abroad, whether for stabilization, relief, or long-time reconstruction, so that it will support rather than contradict fiscal policies adopted to strengthen our domestic economy.

Ninth, and indispensably, let us press for a reorganization of the parts of the federal government that have to do with fiscal policy and administration. We want clarity in policy, consistency in administration, and cooperation between the executive and legislative branches. We shall expect that necessary cooperation of fiscal policy and monetary policy at the federal level will be attained easily along the way. Having gone this far, we will then want to study more intensively the problems of coordination among federal, state, and local governments, since all public expenditure and tax policies affect national fiscal policy itself.

Plans for world economic relationships have recently received a great deal of government attention and public discussion. For the success of all these international plans, a high level of employment and production in the United States is everywhere conceded to be indispensable. With high prosperity, we shall require large imports of raw materials, and we may even welcome the economic advantages of lower tariffs on foods and manufactured goods. With high prosperity, we shall be less greedy for foreign outlets to take up low-cost excess capacity and we shall be more willing to see our exports directed to the world's essential needs.

We must succeed at home if we are to succeed abroad. Our great contribution to world peace and freedom can only be made if we are able to use our unparalleled advantages in establishing here, at home, a high standard of prosperity and democracy.

Planning Full Employment

BY ALVIN H. HANSEN

Professor of Political Economy, Harvard University

WHAT kind of a program do we need to lay out in order to give us any assurance that we can maintain full employment and can master these terrifying depressions? I think probably some of us have given the impression, in our enthusiasm in stating a goal, that the task is an easy one. I do not believe it is an easy task. We shall have to learn a great deal in order to achieve our goal.

A full employment program requires that, on the one side, we must strengthen private consumption and also enlarge the area of community consumption expenditures; on the other side, it requires that we must engage in large-scale and small-scale development projects, public investments, federal, state, and local, in areas that will increase our productive power and, in turn, enlarge the sphere for private investment. This is essentially what I mean by a compensatory and developmental fiscal program designed to maintain full employment.

We know now, as a result of the war experience, that we have reached a stage in technique and productivity which a few years ago no one believed possible. All of us had our sights too low. Mr. Ruml has spoken about our tremendous productive power. He has spoken about the fact that a high level of employment means a national income of about $140 billion.

We have suddenly realized this enormous advance in productive capacity. We did not know we had it in 1940. It will be a very considerable task to raise the standard of living of this country to match our productive capacity. In part, it means raising wages as rapidly as productivity will admit. That means without price inflation, without increasing costs to a point where prices must be advanced. As productivity goes up, wages must go up. They have, in fact, been rising roughly as productivity has risen for a hundred years.

There is also another important factor in raising the standard of living and that is through community expenditures of various kinds. For instance, we should spend money to improve educational facilities; we are very backward in this country, in large areas of the country. Health is another important field in which public expenditure will help raise the standard of living commensurate with our productive capacity. Social security is still another.

Then let us take a look at the investment side of the problem. It is very encouraging that eight governors from the Missouri Valley region sent a resolution to President Roosevelt, asking him to transmit it to Congress, calling for the setting up of a Missouri River Authority along lines similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority. It is just common sense to establish an authority that will control those waters so as to give prosperity to the upper states and prevent damage from flood to the lower states. That is only part of the program, for the electric power that can be developed, the cheap power, will in turn foster and stimulate industry and private investment throughout the entire region.

Another equally important field is urban development and housing. It will be of particular importance after the war. A large-scale development in this field would give us a high level of construction which we know from past experience is one of the best ways to maintain full employment and a high level of income.

I am convinced that we could raise our total productivity more by a twenty-billion-dollar public-investment program than we could by a twenty-billion-dollar private-investment program, and the public-investment program would, moreover, have the effect of enlarging very greatly the area of profitable private investment.

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Planning and Socialism

BY I. F. STONE
Washington Editor, The Nation

I AM not going to talk formally, but I would like to put forward a few very simple propositions that I hope will provoke discussion. The first and the simplest and the basic one is that world peace depends on full employment in the United States. If we do not achieve full employment here, then the disillusion of returning veterans, the animosity of capital toward the makers of social reform, their power over the press—all these things will be used to turn us in the direction of imperialist adventure, particularly in the direction of a war with the Soviet Union. The job of preserving world peace begins at home, with the job of creating full employment.

My second proposition is that we have one very important asset in this. That is the recognition by both major political parties that the creation and maintenance of full employment is a governmental responsibility.

Now, that idea is new in American politics; it was not here in 1932; it was not here in 1936. It began to make its appearance in 1940. It is here with us full-fledged in 1944. Whether it is mentioned sincerely or insincerely, whether it is a rhetorical flourish or campaign promise, the fact is that both parties are pledged to full employment and will be expected by the public to keep those pledges.

I want to offer a third proposition. That is, that by and large both Mr. Dewey and Mr. Roosevelt are right about each other. That is, if you take the main charges of the two candidates and add them together, you will find yourself with a very important fact, a great big fact. The President is right in his criticism of the Republican Party, in saying that laissez-faire methods—what we call laissez-faire—despite, mind you, a large volume of foreign lending, failed to achieve full utilization of power and resources in the '20's and led to a disastrous depression, a world depression in the '30's.

Now, Mr. Dewey is right when he says that the President failed to create full employment after 1932. That is perfectly true—that the combination of public works, relief spending, deficit financing, social security—those measures proved inadequate. They did not provide full employment. If there had not been this war, we should probably have seen another world-wide capitalist collapse, beginning in our own country.

Our next proposition is this: That full employment—and this is a proposition which in the present framework of public opinion, with the Dies Committee operating, government officials cannot say, nobody can say except people that happen to have a job like I have and are able to say what they think without worrying about the Dies Committee—that full employment cannot be achieved without some large measure of socialism. We have to get used to this terrible, dreadful word "Socialism." We have to get used to saying it right out loud.

First, at night, with the windows shut, all alone, stand up and say "Socialism," first a little quietly and then louder.

This is very well understood. Even the rather conservative or British point of view, the British White Paper, recognizes the necessity for measures of socialism, not just government intervention in the shape of regulation or peripheral activity, or of spending to build mausoleums or marble out-houses, or general government activity in the economic field. Of course, what we are talking about is "private enterprise" forever.

The liberated peoples of Europe do not want what they call private enterprise. They are going to fight very hard, certainly in France, to nationalize the great basic monopolies that helped to betray France, and they are going to maintain private enterprise in the very limited sphere in which it can actually be expected to operate, and operate effectively. I think you are going to see a mixed economy there in which fresh traditions of individualism, the great traditions of the French Revolution, will be combined in a very wholesome way with the ideals of Socialism.

I want to say this: The obstacle to profitable government spending—and by profitable I mean government spending that creates wealth, that creates goods, that takes idle men and puts them down sanely and rationally beside idle machines and says, "Make something"—the great obstacle to that is the fact that planning is the bogy man, what with Socialism. The press, the Dies Committee, the agencies of education and propaganda are scared to death of it and made us scared to death of it. We have to learn to use them, talk about them, to apply them if we are going to create full employment.

The task of public education is your job and mine.

When the Soldiers Return

BY LIEUTENANT CHARLES G. BOLTE
Chairman, American Veterans Committee

THE attitude of veterans toward jobs is simple: they want them. This may not seem a very profound or important statement—everybody talks about it, everybody admits it's true, all the correspondents tell us that the post-war question uppermost in every soldier's mind is economic security. Yet I think it is self-evident that the reintegration of war veterans cannot take place successfully unless the veterans get jobs. If they don't get jobs, there's going to be trouble—bad trouble. This is not said by way of a threat; it is simply a statement of fact. Insistence on full production and full employment does not, I hope, seem like special pleading for veterans. The fact is that most servicemen—and women—do not look forward to becoming veterans; they look forward to becoming civilians, that is to say, citizens.

Any man who has been to war and seen the tremendous output of American goods, produced in American

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factories by American workers, is not likely to be satisfied with anything less than full production and full employment. One of our members, a sergeant in France, wrote us last month: "We are not fighting simply for the 'old order of things,' as some national advertisers would have us believe. It was the 'old order of things' which insured us unemployment in the millions, slum areas in large cities, tattered cotton-picking sharecroppers, people hungering for food while crops were being plowed under at the request of the government. If we can produce plenty for a mammoth military machine in wartime then we can certainly produce plenty for an economy of peace. The latter is what we want, what we can do, and we must notify our legislators, now, that that is what we want, not a return to the 'old order of things'."

Some soldiers will undoubtedly come home and be dismayed by the changes they see—partly because in their memories they reconstructed an America that never was, all honeysuckles and sweater-girls and free Coca Cola. But once they get over the shock of such change as the war has wrought in America—and God knows it's little enough compared with what's been wrought in the rest of the world—they will be ready to accept change, so long as it is change in a forward direction.

This desire to be a normal citizen again runs very deeply in most American servicemen, who are anything but a militaristic lot and are fighting hard mostly so they can get home. One of our members wrote us: "I hope we will act more as citizens of the world than as veterans of the American armed forces." Our committee has always tried to make it clear that it was not interested in driving a wedge between veterans and any other group. In fact, through our Bulletin we have campaigned actively against the efforts of certain special interests to drive a wedge between veterans and labor. As just one instance, we reported extensively in a recent Bulletin on wartime wages and strikes, quoting facts and figures: we concluded that "this is certainly no silk-shirt era for the average worker," and that "man-hours lost through strikes are only eight one-hundredths of one per cent—which means eight hours lost out of ten thousand." Actually, I don't know that it was necessary to document the strike story: anybody who is outside the United States during this war can see the fantastic flow of material that pours onto the beachheads around the world, and he knows that somebody must be producing the stuff.

Furthermore, I think those who hate labor and hope to see returning veterans go to work on labor unions are bound to be disappointed; organized labor, after all, has supplied 2,500,000 men to the armed forces, and the rest of the veterans will hardly turn on their late comrades, who will face the same problems of economic and social readjustment.

These problems will have to be met aggressively and immediately. The armed forces can do more than they are now doing in the way of reorientating the servicemen to civilian life. Government and industry can do much to rehabilitate, retrain, and re-educate them. State employment training schemes such as the Connecticut Plan, and community job-placement schemes such as the Albert Lea Plan, should be studied and put into effect by other states and communities. Individual efforts should be concentrated on treating the returned serviceman as a normal human being, not showering him with sympathy if he comes back wounded, not plying him with questions unless he wants to talk, and letting him loaf for awhile, collect himself, make love, and sleep late in the morning. The important thing is to bend every effort towards helping the veteran restore himself as a usefully productive member of society.

The Reconversion Problems of Small Business

BY DAVID L. PODELL

General Counsel, Smaller War Plants Corporation

NOW what steps has the government taken in relation to reconversion? In the early stages of the war there developed a tendency to concentrate war purchasing and procurement in the hands of our giant mass-production industrial institutions in an effort to speed up war production. When that tendency was observed, a campaign was undertaken by several of the agencies of government to spread the work. Over a million subcontracts resulted, some of them fanning out from the prime contractor into a series of successive tiers of subcontractors. Our war production today is bound up in a network of contracts and subcontracts reaching into every corner of the land and affecting over 70,000 plants. Unless properly safeguarded, mass cancellations on termination of the war would not only create confusion and delay but might freeze the capital funds of many thousands of these plants.

The Contract Settlement Act anticipates that business embarrassment by providing, first, that all war contractors, whether prime or sub or sub-sub, are entitled to fair compensation in the event of cancellation. Secondly, it provides for substantial partial payments to be made expeditiously on account of the claim. Thirdly, it requires quick loans to be made by the government agencies, within thirty days of the date of application, for a substantial part of the claim. Fourthly, it provides for the speedy removal of inventory so as not to clog up these plants with materials and equipment which may prevent the resumption of civilian production. Finally, it directs Smaller War Plants Corporation to furnish assistance, make loans and guarantees, and otherwise facilitate small business concerns in speedy settlements of their claims. Several agencies are at work and have been at work for many months in getting themselves prepared to cope adequately with this huge task.

Then, there is the Surplus Property Act with a special section devoted to the protection of the interests of small business concerns. That law requires that our surpluses be sold in small lots so as to be within the reach of small business. It provides for sales on credit. It author-

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izes our corporation to purchase for purposes of resale to small business concerns and provides safeguards against the creation of monopolies in the disposal of government war plants. It authorizes our corporation to finance the purchase and acquisition of war plants by small concerns. The government agencies involved have been busily preparing themselves to cope with that task, which entails the sale and distribution of an estimated 100 billions of dollars' worth of surplus property.

Let me say that while it is not the intention of our corporation to engage in the surplus business, we do believe that it can render a real service to the small plants of the nation in providing them with modern machinery and equipment, renovating their plants, facilitating them in the acquisition of modern plants, and providing them with merchandise and materials so that they can resume civilian production as soon as conditions permit. Then, too, we hope and expect to render a service in securing the widest possible distribution of goods and merchandise equitably among large and small businessmen and to help fill some of the bare shelves of our smaller distributors.

Labor's Fight for Democracy

BY PHILIP MURRAY

President, Congress of Industrial Organizations

WHAT we want is a live and functioning democracy. What we want is a job for every able-bodied person who wants to work. What we want is capacity operation of the factories, mills, mines, and stores. The C. I. O. does not contend that only government can produce jobs for all, just as we do not believe that unbridled competitive business can do so. Nor does labor have a royal road for easy achievement of these desirable ends. We contend that each group has a contribution to make, and that there must be teamwork on the part of labor, industry and government in organizing production around on over-all national plan and component industry plans. Labor, management, and government get together successfully to produce the weapons for victory. We can stick together to build an enduring prosperity.

Now we have extended our fight for democracy from the workshop to the polling place. We are not intimidated from organizing politically to campaign for the ends which we believe are right. After all, the current slander against the Political Action Committee is not so great as the malicious campaign carried on in 1937 and 1938 against the organization by the C. I. O. of the great masses of industrial workers. We managed to survive that.

Our enemies are complaining because we are effective. Even though they dislike our convention resolutions about political and legislative objectives, they really didn't begin to worry and rant until we started an organization to make those resolutions mean something in actual achievement.

I will stake the Americanism and patriotism of the members of the C. I. O. against any of their detractors and defamers. The C. I. O. will yield to no one on its record for advancing the cause of democracy. In its struggle for a better life for millions of workers, in its fight to eradicate racial discrimination, in its struggle to make the peace fulfill the desires of men of goodwill, who is showing—day in and day out—a greater concern to preserve and extend the things which have made the United States a great nation?

The Crisis Ahead

BY BORIS SHISHKIN

Research Director, American Federation of Labor

WE HAVE already reached the turning point in wartime production and employment demands. We passed the peak of maximum activity —not this month but eleven months ago. Sharp reductions in many phases of war production are ahead. After victory in Europe we are likely to have at least 11,000,000 disemployed within a few weeks. Of these we can at best expect to develop jobs, through partial reconversion and partial resumption of civilian activity, for 7,000,000 workers within a year of V-E day, if the war with Japan still continues during that year. And after the final victory is won we shall have further demobilization and further curtailment of war activities with further unemployment. If we are prepared to expand production to new heights, if we safeguard the buying power of the mass of the people and prevent it from falling below the high wartime levels, we could assure continued employment for all. But we are not prepared and we have no working plans. If we continue to let things slide, if we reject all government aid and guidance to industry and workers in assuring a balanced transition, it may well be that after the war we go back to the pre-war level of productive activity. That prospect is a prospect of disaster. For, if we go back to the 1939, the pre-war level of production with skills and technology and with the plant capacity developed in the war, we are certain to have at least 20,000,000 unemployed.

Woodrow Wilson, speaking four months after the armistice, a quarter century ago, said that "the forces of the world do not threaten, they operate. The great tides of the world do not give notice that they are about to rise and run; they rise in their overwhelming might, and those who stand in the way are overwhelmed."

When I indicate the prospect of the coming depression toward which we are headed unless we act, I sound the warning, not in the way of a threat. I sound the warning for the prospect of mass unemployment as a real one—not imaginary. I sound it not because it is inevitable, but because it is not too late to change our future course.

[*The full text of Mr. Murray's, Mr. Shishkin's and Mr. Podell's speeches will be printed in coming issues of* The Nation.]

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4. THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Anti-Semitism as a Fascist Weapon

BY NORMAN M. LITTELL

Assistant United States Attorney General

IN RECENT years we have tiptoed gingerly along the greatest abyss of history. We still stare down into it with mixed feelings of relief at our narrow escape and horror on seeing those who did not escape.

Not since the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the spread of Greek learning into the western world opened the door of modern history—indeed, not since the dawn of the Christian epoch brought the light of day to a brutal pagan world—has humanity witnessed such a spectacular and disorderly retreat of the human spirit into the dark ages. In that long span of history, we had toiled tediously up out of the shadows of human nature into the sunlight and perspectives of that measure of civilization which we have today. The fruits of those efforts are all about us in countless moral restraints and human practices which collectively form a solid bulwark of habit and conduct quite ample to frustrate, if not completely overwhelm, latent impulses toward primitive brutality.

The shock of this generation is the realization that our inheritance is insecure, that its greatest virtues are based upon self-restraint arising from generally accepted concepts of humanity and justice, and that these virtues are fragile indeed before brutality and animal self-assertion, once these latter forces have been permitted to get out of their cave where centuries of civilizing thought and progress have forcibly confined them.

Hitler first seized this great opportunity for the charlatan. He picked the Jew and made him the world's greatest scapegoat. There were old prejudices to rely on—differences of race and religion centuries old, and new ones arising from the fact that the Jew, recently emancipated from political disenfranchisement and the European ghetto, had adapted himself quickly to modern business opportunities.

The Jew was a natural victim, a convenient instrumentality for attacking any free social order, for the master minds in the school of destruction recognized immediately the powerful disrupting effect on any social order once it can be seduced into oppressing even one minority. A leading Nazi put it in 1942, "The Jewish question is dynamite with which we blast the forts where the last liberalist snipers have their nests.... You will see how little time we need in order to upset the ideas and the criteria of the whole world simply by attacking Judaism."

Hitler's imitators are still sowing the seeds in America. They range from those who have been already convicted and sent to the penitentiary to Gerald L. K. Smith, the most prominent of the current rabble-rousers, and to others in higher places seduced into abandoning the basic American pattern of tolerance for the illusory promises of the New Order—just as Hitler had boasted.

We must stand squarely across their path. We must recognize attacks upon minorities for exactly what they are—instrumentalities of destruction set loose in a free world whereby Hitler hopes to win even while he loses. We have enormous resources and great advantages on our side. We have untapped reservoirs of human good will needing only to be awakened to the issues of the day. It is to the prejudices of this great mass of our people that the haters have appealed; it is to the deeper resources of their consciences and the altars of justice in the heart of every man that we must appeal. Here are the deep and everlasting sources of power.

The Negro Soldier

BY CHARLES H. HOUSTON

Member of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices

I WANT to speak particularly on the subject of the armed forces. Here, after nearly three years of war, Negroes are still insulted by the Navy's barring all Negro women, except those now passing for white, from the Waves, the Marines, and the Spars. We have officers in the Army and the Navy; but there is still not a single Negro lieutenant in the United States Marines. The Army puts Negroes in uniform, transports them South and then leaves them to be kicked, cuffed and even murdered with impunity by white civilians. In places, Negro service men do not have as many civil rights as prisoners of war. In at least one Army camp down South for a time there was one drinking fountain for white guards and German prisoners, and a segregated fountain for Negro soldiers. And Negroes know that just as soon as the shooting stops many Americans will give the same Germans, Austrians, Italians, Rumanians and others who were trying to kill them preference over Negroes who were defending them, simply because these Germans and others are white.

Many white service men are talking about what they are going to do to put the Negro in his place as soon as they get back home. Many Negroes are getting to the point of disgust and desperation where they had just as soon die fighting one place as another. Meanwhile enemy propaganda is carrying the stories of racial dissension in the United States to all corners of the earth, and the colored peoples of Asia, Africa and India are getting an eyeful of how white Americans act abroad.

I advocate immediate enlistment of Negro women as Waves, Spars and Marines; assignment and promotion of Negroes in all the armed forces strictly according to service, experience and merit; and the organization of non-segregated combat units on a volunteer basis. The administration of the G. I. Bill of Rights and all other veteran rehabilitation program must be administered impartially with absolutely no discrimination.

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The American color bar unless speedily removed will be the rock on which our international Good Neighbor policy and our pious claim to moral leadership will founder. The moment the peoples of Asia, Africa and India become convinced that our true war aims are to perpetuate the old colonial system with the white man's heel on the colored man's neck, and that we are fighting Japan merely to substitute European imperialism in place of Japanese imperialism—that moment we might as well begin preparing for World War III, and World War III will not necessarily be to America's advantage. The Negro problem gives the United States the opportunity to practice what it preaches, and it is time the country awakens to the fact it is guaranteeing its own salvation by making a substantial down payment on the Four Freedoms at home.

[*The text of Mr. Houston's speech will be printed in full in a future issue of* The Nation.]

The Subversion of America

BY FRANK KINGDON

Educator and Commentator

I HAVE been asked to say why or how democracy—American democracy—is being subverted. I think the answer is very simple. It is being subverted in so far as we do not practice it. It is not a question of somebody coming in from the outside to give us some Hitlerian propaganda, or somebody organizing a committee to sell us on our own prejudices. The fact of the subervsion of our democratic processes begins with the life and conduct of each of us.

Our difficulties begin not by the absence of virtue, but by the perversion of our virtues. It is a very good thing to be an American; it is the greatest thing in the world to be an American, but when the word "American" becomes an exclusive word, becomes tied down to the restriction of privilege in terms of an accident of birth, or an accident of accent, then the poisoned word "American" becomes a danger and a disease.

Exactly the same thing applies on the religious basis. So often I hear people saying that this is a Christian country and that they are standing for Christianity. Now, I happen to think that it is a great thing to be a Christian in the sense of trying to follow with all one's heart the teachings of the Man of Nazareth, for there never were teachings that reached out with such consummate and inclusive warmth to take to themselves all the hearts of all men everywhere. However, when one uses the word "Christian" as an exclusive word, as a word of hate and of persecution and death, then the word "Christian" becomes the feeding of a poison into the blood stream of our life.

When somebody talks about the problem of the Negro, it isn't the Negro who is the problem. It is you and I who are the problems. When somebody talks about the problem of anti-Semitism, it isn't the Jew who is the problem, primarily. It is those of us who are not Jews who are the problem. We have created the situation.

Comment

BY HENRY EPSTEIN

Former Solicitor General for the State of New York

MY INTEREST in this discussion is on behalf of a person whom I shall call "Ginsburg," who is satisfied to remain Ginsburg, who is content to live in the community where he is, who has a little business there and is satisfied to make a living out of it, who has a son, or sons, in the armed services fighting for the country that he thought afforded him equality, rather than tolerance.

Now, when Ginsburg is confronted with open assaults upon his children, when he finds that his own place of worship is the subject of vandalism, his first contact is with what agency of government? It is with the police. And I suggest that the indoctrination of the American police in the cities with democracy is one of primary importance.

Now, his second contact is with the schools which his children attend. I suggest that we need a crusade to teach the schools something about the practice of democracy in action.

His third contact, for purposes of that goal that we seek to achieve, may be with veterans, his own children returning, or the millions of others. One of the crying shames of this war and our participation in it is that we have failed miserably to indoctrinate tens of millions of Americans with the true practices and spirit of democracy.

BY DAVID SHER

Chairman, National Community Relations Advisory Council

I AM REMINDED often that there is a difference between anti-Semitism after Hitler and anti-Semitism before Hitler, and that we ought to devote our attention to an attack upon that characteristic kind of political anti-Semitism which presents a present threat to our society, and to neglect those traditional forms of bigotry with which we have managed to exist for such a long time.

I am always profoundly disgusted by that kind of an approach, not only because I cannot accept it as an idea, but because I think it is futile.

Out of the development of political anti-Semitism, however, there has been one significant phenomenon that I think can be turned to this fundamental purpose which is so transcendently important. It has been noticeable in Europe that, just as it was a sign of Axis identification for nations to adopt anti-Semitic measures, so it is now a sign of Axis abandonment for nations to rescind their anti-Semitic measures. I am not under any illusions about the nature of all of those acts. However, I think that we can recognize that it is a demonstration that people have come to understand the identification between anti-Semitism and fascist despotism. I am afraid that that understanding is not so keen in

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America. We are challenged to bring that fact home to the American people as it has been brought home to the people in Europe, who have learned it through suffering.

5. COMMUNITY WELFARE

Government and Housing

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

Former Counsel to New York City Housing Authority
Professor of Land Economics and Housing, New School for Social Research

THE housing problem is more than houses, more than the slum, more than the problem of home-ownership. It embraces five main elements.

The first is the predicament facing low income families who are forced to live in slums and who, unless a housing program is planned now, will continue to inhabit buildings unfit for human beings.

A second element is the unsound home-ownership structure. Tenancy has increased sharply and only 40% of our families now own homes. The other sixty percent cannot be forced into owning homes by lending them 90% of cost; they must be able to pay the carrying charges, and for the majority of the population, the cost of maintaining the home is uneconomic.

A third element of the housing problem is the demoralized condition of the building industry. The failure of this industry to function in the post-war period will be a major obstacle to recovery.

A fourth element of the housing problem is the pivotal role of housing as an investment. Urban and rural homes now represent the main portion of the landed wealth of the country, which comprises more than half the total national wealth. These investments are primarily of the little folk in the economy.

The fifth element of the problem is that when the consequences of any problems are as far flung as housing, the larger social and economic problems will no longer respond without a solution of the housing problem.

Two recent moves are indicative of the direction toward which the housing program seems headed. One concerns the program for the disposition of war housing. Much of this housing could be used to rehouse slum dwellers. But the Lanham Act specifically forbids the sale of this housing for the purpose.

The second instance is the so-called Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, which is supposed to be the veterans' "Bill of Rights." Its housing plan is as mystifying a proposal as has yet come out of Washington under the label of social legislation. Unless the law is amended, it will bring ultimate tragedy to many a veteran instead of benefit. The bill aims to help the veteran buy a home through government guarantee to the lending institution of half its advance. The loan may be up to $2,000 and is to bear interest at 4% for 20 years. To provide the veteran with the equity money, a second mortgage loan may then be made at 5%.

The great majority of veterans seeking to set up a sound family life will be unable to maintain a home even if they are lent all the money with which to buy one. Few will be able to pay the high interest charges and maintenance costs which the formula sets up. Most of the soldiers will be unable to maintain their homes and should not be cajoled into making the commitment. There should be provision, as in England, for rental housing for these until such time as their financial security warrants the long term commitment home-owning implies. But this does not seem to be in the political cards. If we are interested in a realistic policy to aid veterans in obtaining homes, the bill should be amended so as to provide at least the following:

1. An emergency fund of $1 billion to be used by the Veterans' Administration as a revolving fund to provide veterans with loans at cost.
2. If loans by financial institutions are to be made at all, they should be guaranteed by the government in full, but in that event should provide for interest rates of not more than 3½%.
3. No deficiency judgments should be permitted against veterans in the event that they lose their homes.
4. The loan should be a single loan rather than by first and second mortgage.
5. Provisions must be made for proper planning of these homes in an adequate community that will insure against early obsolescence and blight.
6. With proper planning the amortization period can be extended to 32 years. This, with the reduced interest rate, would assure a much lower carrying charge and make ownership more secure than under the present high-interest, shorter amortization plan.
7. Provision should be made for the supplying of homes through local housing authorities for soldiers who want to rent rather than buy.
8. There should be an adequate grace period to tide over veterans in the event of default.
9. The government should stop its ballyhooing of home-ownership and discontinue its indicated efforts to encourage veterans to buy whether they can afford to or not. It should deal with them frankly and honestly in an effort to provide sound rentals as well as owned housing in a sound community, coupled with a practical program of reemployment which will enable the continuity of payments on homes and avoid the inevitable tragedy which now inheres in the government's housing effort, both for veterans and wage-earners.

Government and Medical Care

BY MICHAEL M. DAVIS, PH.D.

Chairman Committee on Research in Medical Economics

I TAKE it for granted that everyone in this audience believes that good medical care should be made more widely available to all our people. To bring that about means solving two problems. One problem is financial. The other problem is professional. The trouble with the present medical system is not merely that the

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costs of a severe sickness may ruin anybody who hasn't a Park Avenue income. For every person who is hit by the bills of a "catastrophic illness," there are thousands of people who do not seek the medical care they need because they fear its cost.

What we need is not merely some medical care paid for by insurance, but comprehensive care, preventive and curative, supplied by the professional organized teamwork of doctors, aided by modern equipment and technical personnel such as are found in hospitals.

Voluntary health insurance plans have made some progress in this country of late years. They will make more progress, but I see no possibility that voluntary health insurance plans will reach more than a fraction of the people, and those reached by voluntary plans will be mostly the better paid and the more stably employed persons. Only action by government can make medical service financially accessible to the mass of our rural and urban people.

Health insurance is not a dole. It is organized self-help. Most American families are now spending about 3 per cent of their income annually for the services of doctors and hospitals. A nationwide plan of health insurance could collect 3 per cent of their income from these families, would impose no new financial burdens, and would pay for medical care for all with only minor supplementation from general taxation to help provide for the poor and for certain hospital and public-health facilities. National rather than state and local action alone will give us the widest coverage and the maximum spreading of risks.

A nation-wide plan must safeguard the basic freedoms of patient and doctor. The patient must be free to choose the doctor that he wants, or a hospital or clinic, if he prefers to choose an institution rather than to name an individual physician. The doctor must be free from non-professional direction of his professional work and he must be free to choose the kind of practice that he wishes, to practice in the traditional solo style, or to practice in teamwork as a member of an organized hospital staff or other professional group.

A nation-wide plan must recognize and hold a place for voluntary action. Voluntary health insurance plans which supply medical care and which contribute to the efficiency and economy of service should be able to operate within the system. Our voluntary hospitals should and will continue.

No nation-wide plan of medical care could be set fully under way during this war with the present acute shortage of doctors and of hospital personnel. Moreover, in some parts of the country, chiefly rural areas, hospitals and public health facilities are seriously deficient. There is opportunity during the period of demobilization and reconversion which is soon beginning, to start building needed hospitals and to enlarge or improve existing institutions, particularly in rural sections.

We have already set under way extensive plans for aiding veterans. Medical care and hospitalization are among the benefits which the G.I. Bill of Rights will provide them. The educational advantages which the Bill also offers veterans, will furnish opportunity for young physicians whose medical training was abbreviated because they were needed in the Army or Navy, to continue their education for a while.

Government, as representing the whole people, has the responsibility of establishing a system of health insurance which will not only pay for medical care but which will contribute to the improvement of the quality of care and to the professional opportunities of the physicians who are the central agents in furnishing it. National health insurance legislation would free most physicians, most hospitals, and most of our people from the weight of the dollar sign which now restricts the patient in the receiving of modern health services and hampers the doctor in supplying it.

Government and Social Security

BY DR. EVELINE M. BURNS

Former Director of Research, National Resources Planning Board

SOCIAL security is enhanced not only by measures concerned with income maintenance. It is equally important to take every available step to keep economic insecurity and the need for income maintenance to a minimum. The war has caused tremendous shifts in employment and in the places where people do their work. The extent of internal migration is greater than at any similar period of time in the past. It has been estimated that at least five million people have moved into different states from those in which they were before the war. The actual movement of people is much greater than this, for many have moved within their own states, from the country or rural areas into the cities. Not all of these people will wish to, or can, remain where they now are, after the war. If we are to avoid a great deal of useless movement, the "Okies" on a national scale, and if we are to get people out of the areas which have no peacetime future and avoid the development of depressed areas, we shall need a highly effective and efficient employment service. This service must operate on a national scale, and must be able, if necessary, to advance fares and perhaps give financial assistance to the families who in the national interest should be moved from where they now are.

The things to be done in the social-security field are not new or revolutionary. Of all the promises made to the people during the campaign, that to assure all Americans a minimum of security on the basis of which they can through individual effort raise their standard of living to even greater heights is the easiest to fulfill. Readiness to take the obvious steps should be the acid test of the sincerity of those who make election promises.

[*Dr. Burns's address will be published in full in a forthcoming issue.*]

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6. THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF CITIZENSHIP

The Duties of World Citizenship

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Foreign Minister of Republican Spain; editor, Political War section of The Nation

THE first duty of world citizenship in the years to come is to preserve democracy against the efforts of fascism to survive military defeat. It will not be an easy task, because we shall arrive at the end of the European war victorious but under the handicap of the lack of a democratic policy in the conduct of the war.

Sometimes we Europeans must sound very ungrateful. For instance, one of the best papers of the movement of resistance in France, *FrancTireur,* published these words last Friday:

> The United States and Great Britain have recognized the Italian Government. That is excellent news for the latest comer among the United Nations, and it is easily understandable that Prince Humbert should publicly express his satisfaction. It is probable that the Rumanian Government which has succeeded that of General Antonescu will in time be recognized without difficulty. Then one day maybe it will be Hungary. Next will come recognition of the new governments in Berlin and Tokyo, and maybe, who knows, we Frenchmen may one day have a slight chance of being similarly recognized.

That may sound ungrateful in view of all the Allied forces have done for the liberation of France. But there is something that survives even gratitude for liberation, and that is the decision and the will to have liberation applied in the right sense.

The battle will be hard. But I see already developing a concept of world democratic solidarity, an improvement on the former idea of collective security—something which I would define as "collective democratic security." Collective democratic security is the pledge of the most alert liberal elements in every country to strike down any single fascist regime which tries to survive the military defeat of the Axis powers. I deny entirely that there is a possibility of peace, of freedom in Europe or in the world so long as a single fascist regime is allowed to survive.

The old Axis is dying, but there is a new Axis coming, whose two capitals are Buenos Aires and Madrid.

I remember the cynical smile of several of my colleagues in the Council of the League of Nations, especially M. Georges Bonnet and his Polish equivalent Colonel Beck, when I insisted in 1938 that if Spain were abandoned, war in Europe would come in one year. That was no ridiculous pretense of prophecy. There were those who laughed at us again when one year ago we insisted that a new Axis conspiracy was taking shape in South America. We described how the Nazis even then were sending great quantities of money to Argentina through Spanish banks. Radio Moscow has announced the arrival in Spain of people coming from Germany, to be shifted later to Argentina. Everywhere we see the forces of fascism organizing for the new struggle for power. They are again organizing a new campaign to discredit the struggle for freedom of the peoples of Europe. They are talking about Spain as they did in 1938 and presenting the Spanish Maquis in France as an element of revolutionary disorder. The same old stories about the Spanish "Reds." Who are these Maquis? According to our own information, they represent an organization of about 40,000 armed men, mostly from the concentration camps in France. From the beginning they were in the underground. They were active, not only in organizing Spanish units, with a view to the liberation of Spain, but also in organizing part of the French underground. Some of them had been officers, and excellent officers, in the Spanish Republican army. They were treated like dogs by the French authorities at the end of the Spanish War. They have suffered, but with dignity, without complaint, eager always to get back into the fight.

They fought for France and now, when the Battle of France is over, they are going to fight for Spain, and nobody will stop them.

Last Friday in *La Prensa,* the Spanish newspaper in New York, a dispatch from Washington appeared: A high official in Washington commenting on the situation said—and I translate from the Spanish—that, "after all, the problem of the Spanish Maquis could be easily settled by sending a couple of regiments there." And a few hours later came a cable from San Sebastian hinting at the arrival on the French-Spanish border of two American divisions. I hope the story about the divisions is not true; it would be too dreadful.

We are going to have much of this in the years to come.

I hope that the forces of the left, following a clear political line, will realize the urgency of halting reaction from this moment on. I hope the Socialist forces in Europe, and I would like to mention particularly the British Labor Party, will be able to see the picture correctly. I hope that Herbert Morrison and Ernest Bevin and the other leaders, in spite of the duties that the war imposes on them as Ministers in a Coalition Cabinet, are not going to be silent forever. I hope they will not be silent if Prime Minister Churchill again gives Franco the support he cannot find in Spain.

In every Latin American capital people are waiting hour by hour for news from Spain, as they did from 1936 to 1939. This is something that Washington should keep in mind: Nothing will antagonize the people of Latin America more than to see the United States taking sides against Spanish Republicans.

World citizenship should mean before everything support of every people fighting for its freedom.

[*Archibald MacLeish's challenging speech on* Education for Citizenship *will be reprinted in full in the next issue of* The Nation.]

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